AMERICAN AND ENGLISH TRAVELLERS AND SCIENTISTS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY ON THE VLACHS

by Vasile TEGA

This paper is the second part and hence the logical continuation of the article "English Travellers on the Vlachs" published in the same Bulletin, two years ago. The present study is dedicated to the twentieth century American and English travellers and scientists. Due to space limitation, a selection had to be made amongst them. A future monograph on the Vlachs as seen by all foreign travellers and scientists we'll also include all those American and English travellers who have been omitted from the present study.

Just as in the previous article, the material is presented in the chronological order of its appearance.

Henry Noel BRAILSFORD

H.N. Brailsford (1873-1958) was assistant professor of logic at Glasgow University, and later lecturer at Queen Margaret College.

According to the Dictionary of National Biography (ed. 1971), "in 1897 he joined as a volunteer to fight in the Greek War of independence. He came away with a loathing of war and a poor opinion of Greck truthfulness. The novel which he wrote on his return, The Broom of the War-God (1898) attracted the attention of C.P. Scott who engaged him as special correspondant to report for the Manchester Guardian in Crete and the Balkans. He spent the winter of 1903-1904, after the Bulgarian rising, working for the British relief fund in the Balkans." He thus obtained a very rare opportunity to become familiar with the ethnography of Macedonia and with the conditions prevailing there. Because of his knowledge of the Balkan question he was one of the original members of the London Balkan Committee. At the conclusion of the second Balkan war in 1913, Brailsford was selected as the British member of the Carnegie International Commission of Inquiry in the Balkans.

Always according to the Dictionary of National Biography "Brailsford must rank as one of the most eminent of British journalists. His style broke through his anonymity. He was of all men the most disinterested. He never asked, or received, a wage which would have satisfied a run-of-the-road reporter in Fleet Street, and when a rich admirer offered to settle on him a sum of money which would have made him financially independent for life, he refused on the ground that it might sap his intellectual integrity."

Among many other literary productions, Dr. Brailsford is the author of the: "Macedonia, Its Races and their Future"(1).

So minute and thorough are Dr. Brailsford's observations and analyses of the controversial Balkan problems, we wish to avail ourselves of his profound logic and expert testimony in behalf of the Vlach population. Few foreign observers had such excellent opportunity to study the Macedonian question at its source as Dr. Brailsford had.

Below we are presenting a number of lengthy excerpts from this book concerning the Vlachs.

The first Vlach village visited by the author was that of Pisoderi, where "after a perilous voyage among the morasses and precipices round which the village seemed to be built we were installed in the headman's house, and there again, to eyes accustomed to the squalor and misery of Bulgarian hamlets, the surroundings breathed of distant civilisations. The floors were boarded, the walls were papered, and on them hung a map of Europe as though to remind the children who played around it that Macodonia belongs by right to the Western world of enlightenment and freedom. We dined at a table and sat on chairs—amazing innovations—and presently we were to meet the priest of the place, who actually boasted the possession of a little library. Drowsy and tired, overcome by the surprising comfort of the blazing yule-log and the well-stuffed mattresses stretched before the fire, after the long climb through the snow and the bitter air of the hills, I remember that I fell asleep, while the children spread the table and prepared the meal. Half waking, half dreaming, there rang in my ears the baffling music of some tongue as familiar as one's schoolroom. The bread which the children put on the table was pan, the dog over which they stumbled was can. It seemed as though we had crossed centuries as well as mountains, and found a Roman camp within this fastness of the snows and mists.

The morning light only increased the puzzle. It was a little village roughly built of undressed stone. It had, they told me, no more than one hundred and fifty houses, and a population of some eight hundred souls. One noticed no fields around it, and indeed it would have needed a more than Wallachian enterprise to till these mountaintops, all crag and stone. Flocks it possessed and wood and water, but it owed nothing else to nature. One might have expected a grinding poverty, the struggle of a savage and degenerate race to wring a bare subsistence from the hillside, eked out perhaps by brigandage and plunder. But these people had, on the contrary, an air of comfort and plenty. In the midst of the straggling village a large and ambitious building was in course of erection. It is to be a secondary school, with five teachers for the boys

and three for the girls. It seems a startling provision for this minute community. But these Vlach villages are but nurseries and eyries built among the rocks, where a keenwitted race is trained, which makes its career as far afield as the Greek and Roumanian languages are spoken. There is a little Pisodéri in Macedonia, where the aged repose and the children grow, but the greater Pisodéri is in Roumania and in Egypt, where fortunes are to be made in freedom. It matters little that there are no fields to till amid these barren rocks. The people of Pisodéri reap their harvests in the Delta. They were very anxious to explain to me that this school of theirs is to be a modern and commercial school. The Greeks may build their classical gymnasia where boys may learn by heart a play or two, a speech of Demosthenes and half the Odyssey. But the Vlachs are a practical people. If they too study Greek it is because there is no Eastern language so useful in the trade of the Levant." (p.174-175).

Writting about the origins and, in general, about the past of the Vlachs, Brailsford says that"The Thracians may possibly survive in the modern Vlachs, at least in so far as they became absorbed by Roman colonies. All these original races, though doubtless near cousins of the Greeks, must have been very imperfectly Hellenised during the classical and Macedonian periods. The Greek colonies were never much more than trading centres along the coast, and what was Greek in ancient times is Greek to-day. There is no evidence that the interior was ever settled by a rural Greek population. With the Roman conquest came a long period in which the two languages and the two civilisations struggled for the mastery. Military colonies were scattered liberally, and this planting of Latin towns took place only after a ruthless destruction and uprooting of the older Greek cities, whose populations were sold into slavery. Round these colonies the aboriginal inhabitants may have clustered, and acquired the Latin speech which the modern Vlachs still retain. One Byzantine writer remarks significantly that the Thracians never took kindly to Greek, while they acquired Latin with ease (Prisci, "Historia," p. 190). By the sixth century Latin had become the language of a considerable part of Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace."(p. 91-92).

In describing the city of Uskub where "with luck, a traveller may hear six distinct languages and four allied dialects spoken in the same market-place" (p. 85), the author specifically mentions that "More numerous are the Vlachs or Wallachians, descendants of Roman colonists, perhaps the oldest townsmen in the place, and they speak indifferently their own Latin (Roumanian) dialect, or the Slav of the peasants with whom they have done business for centuries, or the culture language of the Greeks which has come to them through their schools and their Churches. They are excellent men of business; they hold their own against Greeks and Jews; and unlike them they contrive as a rule to live on neighbourly terms with the Slavs. They are fairly numerous in Macedonia (perhaps 200,000 souls, or nearly a tenth of the population), but scattered as they are in isolated mountain villages or in town communities, they make no territorial claims and act in politics as a makeweight, for whose alliance Slavs and Greeks eagerly compete" (p. 85-86).

In another chapter, Brailsford again talks about the origins of the Vlachs and their language, specifing: "The origin of the Vlachs is one of those problems of Balkan ethnography which seem desperate and obscure, chiefly because the scholars who have examined them are partisans with some nationalist thesis to uphold. No other Balkan race has quite so wide a distribution. They are Russian subjects in Bessarabia, Austro-Hungarians in Transylvania and Ruthenia. They form an independent king-dom under the national name of Roumania in the two Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia. They are a sensible fraction of the population of Servia and Bulgaria. In Macedonia they are the backbone of the Helle-nic party. In Greece itself, and particularly in Thessaly, they are numerous and influential. They are to be found also in Dalmatia and Bosnia, and under the name of Morlachs (Mavro-Vlachs, i.e., Nigri Latini) they served in the armies of the Venetian Republic. Their language, des-pite dialectical variations, due to the diversity of the alien influences to which it has been subjected, betrays a substantial identity. Their habits and customs are also similar, and even the Austrian Roumans were, like their Southern brethren, a pastoral people with the same shy prefe-rence for mountain dwellings. The Vlach language is as genuinely Latin as any of the Romance tongues of the West, and phonetically it has under-gone in many ways a less drastic modification. But it is a Latin tongue cut off from Latin culture. While the other Romance languages have cease-lessly enriched themselves by a direct study of the parent tongue, the Vlachs have led their isolated life, drawing their culture from the Eastern Church and Greek literature." (p. 178-179). "It is easier to understand the success of the Vlachs in maintaining their identity when one remembers that for three hundred years during the Middle Ages they maintained some political independence in Great Wallachia, which extended at one time not merely over Thessaly but also over the greater part of Southern Macedonia. Their dealings at this period must have brought them into much more intimate association with the Slavs than with the Greeks. The Greek influence which has partially Hellenised the Vlachs of Macedonia to-day can hardly date from before the Turkish conquest. It is the work not of the Byzantine Empire but of the modern Church, and seems to have reached its height during the eighteenth century." (p. 180-181).

In the following paragraph, Brailsford describes the Vlachs thusly: "There is no race in all the Balkans so mysterious and so individual as the Vlachs. It is rare to meet a man among them who does not speak Greek more or less fluently and well, but at home the national Latin idiom persists, and their callings, their habits, their ways of thinking make them a nationality apart. They are not a very numerous stock, though without their aid the Greeks would cut a poor figure among the statistics of the Macedonian races. The so-called "Greeks" of Monastir are Vlachs to a man. They form a considerable and continuous group along the Pindus range, wedged between Thessaly and Epirus. They are numerous once more between Olympus and Kara-Veria (the ancient Beroea). Elsewhere they have scattered villages, all built like Pisodéri among the rocks. Kruchevo, Neveska, and Klissoura are the most notable of these mountain-nests. They seem to be the scattered remnant of ancient Roman colonies,

which took refuge on the spine of Macedonia from the tide of barbarian conquest. It was a shy and fugitive existence which they led in these retreats. Agriculture was impossible, and they gave themselves to the tending of cattle. The Vlachs of the non-mercantile villages are almost nomads. They follow the migrations of their flocks, spending the winter, it maybe, on the plains of Thessaly—so far afield do they roam—and returning in summer to their own mountain homes. They are not all orga-nised in villages, as are the other peoples of Macedonia. Each of the Bulgarian villages round Castoria, for example, has its four or five houses of Vlachs. They live apart, rarely intermarrying with Slavs, up-held by some tradition of an ancient superiority which teaches them to despise the newer races. If they are a timid people they are also sin-gularly tenacious. A family may be scattered between Roumania and Thessaly, but they never cease to be Vlachs; and the women move about among their Bulgarian neighbours, never abandoning their neat costumes of navy-blue, more suggestive of Norway than of the Balkans." (p. 176).

The following statement describes in a very realistic way the cha-racter of the Vlachs. "But it is said that no single case has ever occured of the conversion of a Vlach village to Islam. Now, the Vlachs form the only race in the Balkans which is absolutely free in its social structure. It has no aristocracy as the Albanians have. And since it is nomadic and pastoral rather than agricultural, it is not at the mercy of landowners, as are so many of the Slavs. Every Vlach community is practically autonomous, and the individual Vlach separates himself with-out hesitation from his village. When circumstances become too difficult they simply emigrate—as the people of Moschopolis did. The Slavs, once settled round a church and a monastery, remain rooted to the soil. The Albanians follow the fortunes of their chiefs. But the Vlachs are at home wherever there is a mountain-top." (p. 242).

Furthermore, the author underlines the role and place of the Vlachs in the economy of Macedonia. "They are the inn-keepers and the carriers of Macedonia. The carrier (Kiradji) Vlach is a synonym for honesty. Their wandering habits, their international distribution, seemed to mark them out for this trade. Little by little, as they developed it, their mountain-nests, apt sites for sheep-cotes, became commercial centres, and it is no small proof of their mercantile genius that Klissoura, for example, perched on the precipitous slope of a weary mountain, its streets mere ladders cut in the rock, the roads that approach it so many toilsome spirals, should have become a place of shops and bazaars, with two market-days in the week. The railways, I fancy, have somewhat diminished the trade of the carrier Vlachs. The older men of Kruchevo and Klissoura remember the days when a caravan went twice a year from their village to Vienna and brought back with it all that Macedonia needed from the West. But these were the days before Baron Hirsch had bribed Constantinople to allow him to build his railway. Now Klissoura has something of the air of a decayed town, which dreams amid its daily mists and infrequent suns of a glory that is departed. Half its houses are empty, and their architecture, solid, roomy, and with some incipient tendency to ornament, speaks of a greater trade than any that survives. Its comfortable shopkeepers, seated at ease on their heaps of cushions within the stout walls that defy the incessant rains of the mountain-top,

will tell you that when they were boys Klissoura was the second city of Macedonia, hardly distanced by Salonica. In those great days there were even families which had pianos and German governesses! Pisodéri had a more romantic history of a great past. It is a modern village enough on its present site, for it dates only from the second decade of last century, when its ancestors, fleeing from the tyranny of Ali Pasha, found a refuge among these arid and inaccessible rocks which no cupidity would envy. Ask the average Vlach why his people have perched their homes in these undesirable sites, and he will answer, with a frankness which is eloquent of Balkan conditions, "Why, of course from fear." "Apo Phovon" is the monotonous response to so many questions in Macedonia. "The coneys are a feeble folk, but they have their dwellings among the rocks." The people of Pisodéri came from Moschopolis, one of those semi-independent and relatively civilised Christian communities of Albania which preserved a Hellenic culture among the Highlands until Ali Pasha crushed them. Moschopolis was ruined, but its inhabitants escaped with their lives. Half of them settled at Pisodéri; the other half fled as far north as Prizrend, where to this day they still preserve their identity and their traditions. Moschopolis was an eager centre of that stirring of ideas which preceded the Greek insurrection. It had in its great days a population of sixty thousand or more. It boasted a famous school, a public library, and a printing-press; and among the treasures of the Vlach colony in Prizrend are still to be reckoned a little store of books which issued from it. I have seen, too, at Koritza, a stained-glass window, coloured with no contemptible art, which came from Moschopolis." (p. 177-178).

With respect to the role and the position of the Vlachs on the "Macedonian question," Brailsford underlines "The Vlachs are, in a sense, the pivot of the Macedonian question. They are not numerous in comparison with the Bulgarians, or even with the Albanians. But without them the Greeks would cut a sorry figure. North of Castoria there is not so much as a single Greek village. It is only the Vlachs who give Hellenism a foothold. Withdraw them from their Greek alliance, and Greece must disappear from Macedonia. Group them with the Bulgarians, and the Slav supremacy will be unquestioned and unchallenged. This reasoning appealed to Roumania, and Margariti obtained the funds he demanded. Roumanian schools were opened in all the more important Vlach centres. Villages were bribed to declare themselves Roumanian, and priests here and there began to say Mass in Roumanian. The Turks were delighted. It meant one rift the more among the Christians. The Greeks naturally fought the new movement with their familiar weapons. No calumny was too gross for poor Margariti himself, and probably he was no better than the average Levantine adventurer. The Patriarch showed himself, as usual, more Greek than Christian. The idea of nominating a Vlach Bishop was scouted, and the few priests who dared to say Mass in Roumanian were promptly excommunicated." (p. 187-188).

Brailsford describes in the following terms the terror exercised by the Greek clergy on the Vlachs: "The Vlach villages are passing through a transition stage, and if they were freed from the spiritual terrorism of the Greek Church, which holds them by a threat of excommunication, and the physical terrorism of the Greek bands which assasinate

their notables and teachers it is possible, though by no means certain that the majority of them would declare themselves Roumanians." (p. 198).

"They have executed a fair number of Vlach priests and teachers because they attempted to say Mass or teach the children in Roumanian. The Bulgarian population has been reduced by some hundreds, and a large number of Vlach (Roumanian) villages have been 'converted' from their schism and enrolled once more in the Greek Church." "Captain Boukovala has caused several Roumanising villages in the Caza of Yenidje to return to Orthodoxy" (the Skrip, Athens, August 31, 1905). "Thanks to the action of the Chief Akridas and his band, the Roumanising population of Selion, Vlacolivadon and of the villages round Vodena has rejected the alluring propositions of the Roumanian propaganda and returned to Orthodoxy" (the Athenai, August 31, 1905 (p. 215).

Brailsford was in Macedonia, in 1905, when a serious diplomatic conflict took place between Rumania and Greece, concerning the Vlachs, and which eventually resulted in the recognition of the Vlachs as a distinct nationality within the Ottoman Empire. "In May, 1905, the Vlach question came to a crisis. The Vali of Jannina, who was under Greek influence, did violence to the sanctity of the Roumanian Consulate and to the persons of some Roumanian school inspectors. A violent diplomatic conflict followed, which ended in a complete victory for Roumania. But indeed it suited Turkish policy to yield. The Vlachs are now formally organised as a separate nationality (Millet), with the right to possess officially recognised schools and churches of its own. The Greek Patriarchate protested, as it always has done wherever a Balkan race has won the right to worship in its own tongue. The only result was to drive the Vlachs towards the Exarchist fold." (p. 188-189).

The English press gave this incident a great deal of coverage, commenting upon the success of the Rumanian government, which managed to assure better protection for the Vlachs in the Ottoman Empire.

Here are two articles which are significant. The first one appeared on the front page of the well known The Spectator, on May 27, 1905.

"An affair which threatened last week to cause an explosion in the Near East has been happily settled. Four 'Kutzo Vlachs," or Wallachs not of Wallachia, began inspecting Wallach schools in Albania. The Vali of Janina, either out of dislike for the Grand Vizier, who is friendly to Wallachs, or because he suspected them of propagating anti-Turkish ideas, arrested them, threw two of them into prison, and sent two as prisoners to Italy. King Charles of Roumania, as natural protector of all Wallachs, remonstrated with the Sultan, and finding his representations disregarded, forwarded an ultimatum. The Vali must be dismissed before May 23rd, and Kutzo Vlachs must be invested with all the privileges of other Christian communities in Turkey, or Roumania would break off all relations with Constantinople,—a step which would have led to an alliance with Bulgaria, and ultimately to war. The Sultan cannot just now appeal to Russia, but he consulted Germany, and being advised to maintain peace, he on May 22nd climbed down. An Iradé was issued conceding the privileges asked for the Kutzo Vlachs, and it is understood the Vali of Janina will be removed, doubtless by promotion. The

incident is closed; but the determined attitude of Roumania, whose Monarch really understands the affairs of the Near East, shows a new independence of Russia, and will, as we have indicated elsewhere, increase the elements of turmoil in the Balkans. Any shot fired there may explode a powder magazine."

The second article appeared, under the title "Turco-Roumanian dispute settled" in the Westminster Gazette, May 24, 1905. "A Reuter telegram from Constantinople states that besides to-day's announcement regarding the settlement of the Turco-Roumanian dispute which has been officially communicated to the Roumanian Minister, the latter has also received the following verbal communication:

(1) The Vali of Janina will to-day, on the occasion of the National Roumanian Fête, call on the Roumanian Consul at Janina and will furnish explanations of the annoying incident which went near to disturbing the good relations of the two countries, and will give assurances as to the cordiality of the future relations between the Roumanian Consulate and the Government. (2) The school inspectors who were expelled will be recalled to Janina to continue their work for some time, after which they will receive appointments elsewhere. (3) Full liberty is granted for the use of the Wallach language in schools and churches. Although Roumania demanded the dismissal of the Vali and a pecuniary indemnity, the first point has not been granted, though it is understood that the Vali will eventually be replaced, while the demand for an indemnity has been abandoned. Nevertheless, to have obtained recognition of the Wallachs as a separate community, and the use of the Wallach language in schools and churches, constitutes, if the promise be loyally carried out, a striking political success for Roumania, and a corresponding check for the Hellenic propaganda and the influence of the Greek Patriarchate, and no pressure will be exercised to compel the Wallachs to leave the pale of the Patriarchate.The steps taken by Roumania were supported by the Embassies of Germany, Great Britain, and Italy, and, above all, that of Germany."

The last part of the chapter on the Vlachs of the Brailsford work is entitled "Feud with the Greeks" from which we quote: "For some years to come, Greece and Roumania are likely to continue their battle for the possession of the Vlach villages." (p. 189). (The assassination of Vlachs by the Greek bands aroused the most violent indignation in Roumania. The Roumanians are not quite so much inured to blood as the Greeks and Bulgarians, and they have always conducted their propaganda by the clean and benevolent method of bribery. They retaliated by expelling some Greek subjects from Roumania. A diplomatic conflict followed, and in October, 1905, peaceful relations were broken off. Happily a war is physically impossible, but Greek commerce in Roumania is certain to be very heavily punished. Some good has come already from this situation, since orders have been issued from Athens forbidding the Greek braves for the future to murder Vlachs) (p. 218)." "The conflict rages mainly around the Church—like all conflicts in the Balkans—and both sides show a ghoulish tendency to make the graveyard their chosen battleground. No Vlach can die in Monastir without a free fight between pro-Greeks and pro-Roumanians as to which language shall be used to dedicate

his soul to God. Greeks and Catholics never fought with more ardour for the keys of the Holy Sepulchre than do Greeks and Roumanians for the corpse of a dead Vlach. An extract from an official Greek publication (Bulletin d'Orient, Athens, July 1, 1904) gives a lively idea of one of these encounters: "A Vlach belonging to the Greek-Orthodox Church having died at Monastir, his brother, who had been won over to the Roumanian propaganda by methods familiar to us all, actually dared to form the project of having him buried by a Roumanian priest not recognised by the Patriarch, and to refuse the (Greek) Bishop of Pelagonia entry into the mortuary.

"These proceedings aroused the liveliest irritation among the Greek-Orthodox population of Monastir and among the friends of the dead man. There was clearly an intention to create a precedent which would soon permit the Roumanian propaganda to have its own priests, and to build a church at Monastir, in defiance of the canons of the Orthodox Church and of the clearly expressed will of the Vlach population. Moreover, the suspicions of the public were confirmed by the fact that the said propaganda is building a house which has a strange resemblance to a chapel. "The Greek Bishop having fulfilled his duty, which was to forbid the celebration of the funeral rites by an unrecognised priest, the Turkish authorities had the body embalmed, and announced that the burial must be postponed until the arrival of instruction from Constantinople.

" But in spite of this declaration they decided shortly afterwards to have the dead man buried by the Roumanian priest. At this news the exasperated populace went to the mortuary, unharnessed the hearse, assaulted Pinetta, the notorious son-in-law of Apostolo Margariti, with several other prominent pro-Roumanians, and refused to obey the armed force which summoned it to disperse. The whole town was in disturbance, and the market was closed for three hours.

"The Vali, greatly impressed by the decided attitude of the Greeks, whom two charges of cavalry had failed do disperse(?), telegraphed directly to the Sultan to lay before him the gravity of the situation, and to ask for instructions. In reply he received the order to surrender the corpse neither to the Greeks nor the pro-Roumanians, and to entrust the local authorities with the burial."

This glorious victory for Greece is a significant commentary both on the habits of the Greek mind and the methods of the Turkish Government. These Thermopylaes of the mortuary are the triumphs to which modern Hellenism aspires. Every detail is a satire in itself—the inability of the local authorities to bury a corpse without consulting Constantinople; that delicious touch of the embalming of the poor body while Constantinople tardily replies; the final appeal to the Sultan himself, and the rough justice of the decision that since the Christians were quarrelling, the body must have a secular burial. Nothing could be more Turkish, and nothing could be more Greek. (pp. 189-190).

Luigi VILLARI

There were many works published in 1912 pertaining to the Balkan peoples, given the special situation created in this region by the Balkan Wars. One of the most remarkable studies in this area is the one done by Luigi Villari, an internationally renowned geographer, who wrote for the prestigious National Geographic Magazine an article entitled "The races and religious of Macedonia" (2), from which we extract the following passages concerning the Vlachs. "The original inhabitants of Macedonia probably belonged to the great race which we call Thracians, of whom very little is known, while the western part of the peninsula was peopled by Illyrians. Descendants of the former are said to be the Kutzo-Vlachs, or Rumans, while the latter are represented by the Albanians.

The Greeks never succeeded in wholly Hellenizing Macedonia, their settlements being limited to the coast towns.

Then came the Roman conquest. Roads were built, towns were founded in all parts of the country and military colonies established. The Thracians soon adopted the manners and the language of the Romans, who were the first civilized people with whom they had come in contact, and Greek influence survived on the coast alone." (pp. 1121-1122).

After this short mention of the origins of the Vlachs, Villari, in a chapter entitled "The Rumans or Vlachs" discusses their present situation. "The Kutzo-Vlachs, or Rumans, of Macedonia, present an interesting ethnographic and linguistic problem. They are usually admitted to be the descendants of the aboriginal Thracians, who amalgamated with the Latin colonists and adopted their language and civilization, and maintained their national characteristics by retiring to the mountain fastnesses of Macedonia. Latin influence also survived in the region north of the Danube, where large military colonies were formed. There is a strong resemblance between the language of the Macedonian Vlachs and that of the inhabitants of Roumania, although there is no political and not much racial, kinship between the two, and they are separated from each other by a wide belt of purely Slavonic country.

The Vlachs of Macedonia are very much scattered, their chief settlements being on the Pindus Range and in the neighborhood of Monastir, Metsovo,Koritza, Krushevo, Vodena, etc. They descend in winter as far as the Gulf of Corinth, Avlona, and Durazzo, where the word Vlach has come to be almost synonymous with shepherd. (See map).

They are an extremely intelligent, fine looking people, of considerable business ability. Their towns and villages, which are usually found on the summit of hills, are more solidly built than those of any other Balkan race. Krushevo, which suffered so heavily during a recent rising, was a notable instance.

But in spite of their love of well-built stone-houses, the Vlachs have strongly ingrained nomadic habits, and in summer-time their towns are for the most part abandonned by all the able-bodied males, who wander about the country as itinerant merchants or Kiradjis (dealers in and hirers of horses). Many of them are men of substance, and have business connections with all the important centers of the Balkans and Austria-Hungary.

As regards numbers, statistics vary, as usual, very considerably. According to some authorities, they are not more than 50,000; whereas Rumanian patriots affirm them to be at least half a million; probably they amount to about 100,000." (pp. 1128-1129).

William SLOANE

Between the years 1903 and 1910, William Sloane, member of the American Academy and professor of history, made three fairly extended journeys in lands which had once been a part of the Turkish empire. What he was able as a mere tourist to observe appeared to have value as a specimen of history in the making. His book "The Balkans. A Laboratory of History" (3) strives to state the political, social, and religious problems of the hour as the Balkan states had to face them.

In the chapter "The Balkan peoples," the following paragraph is devoted to the Vlachs: "Scattered far and near over the Balkans is a very enigmatical folk. They are irreclaimably nomadic, living mainly by the produce of small herds of goats or sheep. In Macedonia, Greece, Servia, and Bulgaria their little bands are everywhere found on the mountainsides and upland pastures. Investigators have counted twenty-two different designations by which they are known. The generally accepted name in anthropology is that of Aromunes—goat wanderers—but they are most widely known as Vlachs or Wallachs, sometimes as Kutzovlachs. Six hundred years ago they were exactly as they are to-day. In the countries through which they wander repeated efforts have been made to subdue their vagabond propensities, and at wide intervals of time and space a small proportion has been established in villages, but the vast majority still roam as before. Their racial unity cannot be doubted. In the first place, they have a physical type of their own; middle stature, round faces, coarse but regular features,straight noses, large, full mouths, brownish yellow skins and, for the most part, black hair. Though cautious and suspicious, when reassured they are lively, good-natured, and hospitable. Secondly, they all speak the same language, the Rumanian. They speak it, of course, with variations, and these extend so far that in Rumania, Hungary, the Bukowina, Russia, and some parts of Bulgaria and Carniola, their speech is called "Dacian Rumanian"; in Macedonia, northern Greece, Epirus, Albania, Servia, Bosnia, and other parts of Bulgaria it is styled "Arumanian;" in Istria and round Fiume, "Istrorumanian", and finally to the north of Salonica, "Meglen." (pp. 73-74).

Alan WACE and Maurice THOMPSON

At the beginning of our century, the Vlachs have been the subject of an exhaustive study by two Englishmen, A. Wace and M. Thompson. Their book "The Nomads of the Balkans" (4), fluently written, but none the less a scholarly one, is an indispensable tool to all interested in the history, customs, language and folk-lore of these "mysterious Kutso-Vlachs." The authors lived a good deal amongst the Vlachs, to the extent of learning their vernacular tongue.

According to the historian Arnold Toynbee, this is "an historic work, because Alan Wace and Maurice Thompson studied the Vlachs at the latest moment before they were swallowed up in the modern world of autobahns and transistors. The book describes them as they had been for at least the last 1400 years,counting back from the time at which it was written."

Shortly after the publication of the work, "The Spectator" (No. 4517, January 23, 1915) published a long and well documented article, which we reproduce in its entirety,given the fact that it gives quite a complete synopsis of the contents of the study in question.

"Messrs. Wace and Thompson have produced a very agreeable example of scholarship lending itself to the study of humanity. With the wandering Vlachs who visit the great Thessalian plain in the winter and return to their fascinating mountain homes for the summer they lived for a time simply and on terms of good fellowship. It is evident that their friendly inquiries were well received because they were tactfully pursued. The authors are too modest to say this for themselves, so it is well that a reviewer should say it for them. The Vlachs, even more than the Greeks, tell you what they think you desire to believe. Exaggeration, romancing, and a general misdirecting of inquisitive persons are merely protective habits. It would be foolish to talk about lying. People who move about too frequently to avail themselves of the security of laws—where there are laws—must have a substitute. And nomadic like backward peoples have long practised the art of throwing dust in the eyes of strangers. Besides, from 1903 till the Turkish Revolution the Vlachs of Macedonia had a peculiar reason for being driven back on their powers of deception. Bulgarians and Greeks were trying to prove their racial claims to certain districts of Macedonia. Bulgarian bands opposed Greek bands, and the violent and brutal dispute brought Bulgarian, Greek, and Roumanian (or Vlach) schools into a common ruin. Vlachs became wonderfully ingenious at dissembling their allegiance, since all allegiances were dangerous. We take it, then, as a proof of the authors' tact that they learned so much of the Vlachs' intimate customs and folk-lore. And when the authors, after their stay in the Vlach town of Samarina, came across the friends they had made there in other towns, they were welcomed once more as trusted comrades. Several of the Vlach marriage or festival songs have been published before, but not, we think, to the accompaniment of so pleasant a narrative as we have here. Moreover, the authors publish some new inscriptions and sayings. Their book is opportune, for Samarina and other neighbouring Vlach mountain towns are now included in Greece, and it is only to be expected that the tranquil and

easily absorbed Vlach people within the Greek borders will lose much of their individuality. So long as they were under the vague laws of the Turks they were under a system in which administrative slackness and leniency were corrected by intermittent pillage and severity. The tendency was for them to be a people apart in their mountain retreats, a people drawn together by an interior necessity of cohesion. But Hellenization is likely to act as a levelling force. It is not the nature of Vlachs to resist an external influence unless they are compelled to do so for reasons of personal or commercial safety.

To-day the Vlachs are widely scattered over the more mountainous and remote parts of the Balkan Peninsula from Acarnania to the mountains of Bulgaria and Serbia. Their settlements are all small, and there is no such thing as an exclusively Vlach town. One of their favourite districts is along the wooded slopes of Northern Pindus between Epirus and South-West Macedonia. The higher of the Pindus villages are under snow every winter, and the Vlachs who inhabit them "trek" down to the plains of Thessaly and Macedonia for some six months in every year. They regard themselves as a mountain people, and are never so happy as when they return to their hills; they are as glad to leave the heat of the plains behind them as any European in India who escapes to Simla for the summer. The Vlach language is descended from Latin, as may be seen both in its structure and its vocabulary, and is closely allied to Roumanian, of which it is in fact a dialect. The name of the chief province of Roumania—Wallachia—tells its own tale. Vlach seems not to have been written before the eighteenth century, when a Greek script was introduced. Since the beginning of the national movement, about the middle of last century, the Roumanian alphabet has been used. It is to be hoped that no weak passion for symmetry will induce the Greeks to try to compel the Vlachs of Greece to readopt the Greek character against their will. Nearly all Vlachs know one other language—Greek, Bulgarian, Albanian, or Serb. The authors suggest that the name Vlach—which is of course only a shortened form of Wallach—is in origin connected with Welsh. In Greece it is customary to speak of all wandering shepherds as Vlachs, so that the stranger must beware of confusion. The word "Kutsovlach," however, invariably has a racial significance. The Kutsovlachs are—according to the derivation accepted—either the "little" Vlachs, or the "halting" Vlachs, as distinguished from their more numerous kinsmen north of the Danube. If the latter meaning be the true one, "halting" refers to the hissing sound of their dialect. Because of this hissing sound, the Vlachs are called "Tsintsars" by the Bulgarians, Serbs, and Albanians. As for the numbers of the Vlachs, it is evidently very difficult to arrive at an estimate, and the difficulty is only an illustration of the perennial dispute as to the distribution of races in the Balkans. The authors say:—"A Greek estimate made before political troubles began put the total number of Vlachs at 600,000; later Greek estimates give usually a much lower figure. An enthusiastic Roumanian has proposed 2,800,000, but other Roumanian estimates are from about 850,000 upwards. Weigand who has paid more attention to the subject than any other traveller puts the total of Vlachs in the whole peninsula at 373,520. This seems to us to err on the side of moderation, for it is based largely on the calculation of five persons to a house, which from our own experience of Vlach villages is well below the average. Including as Vlachs all

those who learnt Vlachs as their mother tongue we should estimate the total at not less than half a million. Of these however some will now be using Greek and others Bulgarian in everyday life and their children will not know Vlach at all."

The authors joined a Vlach party at Tirnavos—the place, by the way, at which the Greek panic and recoil on Larissa began in the war of 1897 —and went with them to Samarina. It was a leisurely journey, nor can one imagine a more delightful one, with the camp pitched every evening in some new spot, remote and beautiful. The Vlachs of this party were muleteers, small tradesmen, cobblers, ironworkers, shepherds, and butchers. It might be thought that most of them could not well change the scene of their labours, yet all were accustomed to spend the summer in their garden city of Samarina, perched among the beeches of the Pindus. A garden city it truly is, since every house has a garden, though it must be admitted that the Vlachs are not cultivators of flowers. These people have surely chosen wisely; they have, as it were, their town and country houses—even to the poorest; and they make their occupations conform to their conception of life, and not vice-versa. They come to the garden cities for "the season." Those of Samarina who do not come for the whole season make a point of being at home for the great festival of the Assumption. The whole season is a time of enjoyment much more than of work. The social life of the Vlachs, which is freer than that of the Greeks, since the women are treated as the equals of the men, lends itself to the spirit of the picnic. For what would a picnic be, we ask, if the women were not superior to the men, or at all events their equals? Lunching among the beeches on the mountain slopes is a favourite recreation."

Lucy M.J. GARNETT

We've already had the opportunity to talk about this excellent English traveller in our recent study concerning the English travellers in Balkans till 1900, when we dealt with her interesting and original publication "The Women of Turkey and their Folk-lore", which was published in 1890.

In 1914, Garnett publishes "Greece of the Hellenes"(5), which just as the previous work "it is based, for the most part, on personal observations made during various sojourns in the East, amounting in all to eight years"... "And in order to complete, as far as possible, the knowledge personally acquired, I have consulted every available book on the East."

While on the subject of the diverse populations of Greece, a lengthy chapter is dedicated to "The Vlachs Nomads", from which we reproduce the following passage: "Of Latin race must also be considered the Vlachs or Wallachs. In Southern and Central Greece this element of the population is chiefly represented by the shepherds who, roaming in summer with their immense flocks of sheep and goats over the mountains and in winter encamping in the lowlands, form a strange and picturesque feature of Greek rural life. So essentially pastoral and nomadic in its propensities is

indeed one section of this people that their very name has become among the surrounding races a synonym for "shepherd." Previously to the Ottoman Conquest, the Vlachs occupied the plains of Thessaly in such numbers that the province had acquired the name of "Great Wallachia," while AEtolia and Acarnania were termed "Little Wallachia." A considerable section of the Vlachs, however including all those of the burgher class, retired before the invading Turks into the mountain ranges of Pelion and Olympus where they founded new settlements, the most considerable of which are Voskopoli—"The Shepherd's Town," Vlacho-livadia—"The Meadows of the Vlachs" on the western slopes of Olympus, and Mézzovo in the heart of Pindus. Mézzovo is the most picturesque situated town it is possible to imagine, clinging to-both sides of a sublime ravine, and overhung by the highest crests of Pindus which tower so perpendicularly on either hand that not till long after sunrise is the Prosélion or "Sunnyside," of the town out of shadow; while the opposite side is appropriately termed the Anélion or "Sunless." Several Vlach villages surround the town, the most remarkable of these being Kalyarites, standing as it does on a hillside so steep that the highest houses are 500 feet above the lowest, and every street is a zigzag staircase. (See plate Mezzovo).

The roving propensities of the Vlachs above referred to are not confined to the shepherd class, the burghers being also for the most part engaged in pursuits which require them to lead a more or less nomadic life. Among them are wealthy merchants who trade in all the countries of southern and central Europe, and return only occasionally to their mountain homes, besides more humble traders travelling only with their pack-mules in Greece and the Balkan States carrying goods for sale in the smaller towns and villages of the interior, like the peddlers in England in bygone days when, as still in the East, shops were few in the towns and non-existent in rural districts. And in all the towns of Greece and the Balkan Peninsula generally may be found an industrial class of Vlachs who work there for the greater part of the year at various handicraft trades. (pp. 7-8).

In another chapter from the same publication, entitled "Rural Life and Pursuits," Garnett talks at length about" pastoral life and Vlach shepherds. "The typical shepherds of Central and Northern Greece are, however, the nomad Vlachs previously mentioned, who in summer may be found wandering over the great mountain ranges of Epirus and Thessaly, southwards to the shores of the Gulf of Corinth and eastwards from Salonica to Cape Sunium, crossing also the narrow straits into the mountains of Euboea. These hill pasturages they rent from the neighbouring village communes, or, in the case of Crown lands, from the Government. The winter season is passed in the lowlands; and, during several months, the Vlachs may be found encamped in great numbers in Attica, in the neighbourhood of Lake Paralimme in Boiotia, on the marshy lands neat Marathon, and in various parts of eastern Thessaly. Here they set up their huts, which are circular in shape, of closely-woven reeds and branches, comfortably lined within with hangings of goats'-hair cloth, the floor of beaten earth being covered with thick, native matting and brightly-coloured, home-made rugs, while hard, oblong cushions, piled round against the walls, do duty for seats. At Eastertide the lambs are taken into the towns for sale, Athens alone consuming during that festive season

not fewer that 80,000; and as the ewes by this time have lost their milk and are able to travel, the Vlachs now break up their winter camp and commence their summer migrations. These are effected in leisurely fashion, the higher mountains being reached only when the summer heats have set in. On the way from one pasturage to another the animals are marshalled into a solid phalanx, the goats in front, the sheep next, and then the mules and donkeys carrying—in addition to the tents and the babies—great saddlebags of black hair-cloth containing the dairy utensils and other goods and chattels, while the nomads, in fustanella and capa of hue equally grimy, with gun on shoulder, and attended by their fierce Molossian dogs, guard the company on either hand from the perils of the way. Their encampments when thus on the road—one of which I had some years ago an opportunity of seeing—forms a picturesque spectacle. As soon as the halt is called, the black goats'-hair tents are unloaded from the mules and pitched by the men, while the women and girls milk the goats, prepare the evening meal, or nurse the babies, and the flocks are rounded up by the barking dogs and shouting boys. Arrived at the high pasturages the nomads build huts or shealings of pine branches and brushwood as summer quarters for the women and children, who remain in these little settlements while the men and boys wander for months with their flocks and fierce dogs over the high, grassy alps, sleeping with them in the open, wrapped only in their shaggy capas of thick homespun.

The social organisation of these Vlach shepherds is of a quite patriarchal character. They form small communities termed stania, or "Sheepfolds," consisting of twenty or more families under the headship of an hereditary tsêllingas, or chieftain, who governs his little clan on aristocratic principles and himself conducts all its transactions with the outside world. In his own family, too, he is an absolute autocrat, and his sons and younger brothers may not sit at table with him, but must stand and wait upon their elders and his guests. Many of these tsêllingas are men of substance, and possess valuable and interesting heirlooms in the shape of silver cups, cartridge-cases, etc., which are marvels of art; while their women, on holidays, wear with their native costumes wonderful belt-clasps, bracelets, and hanging necklaces of silver, ponderous certainly, but of beautiful workmanship. (See plate).

These wealthy flock-masters were, in the old days of Ottoman oppression, frequently despoiled both of coin and gear, not only by brigands, but also by local Turkish governors; and the popular muse records as follows a harrying by the latter species of brigand which took place in 1770.

"Rides a Pasha along the road, another in his wake,
And to the town of Trikkala themselves do they betake,
The elders and headmen to seize—it is for this they go—
And take Demakë, chief 'mong them of the Aspropotamo.
Demakë's, warned and fast he flees up to the mountain high,
He Kriki's towers has reached which are to Mëzzovo anigh;
Roast meat upon his table's served, sweet wine is in his cup,
But nor for food nor wine cares he, he has no heart to sup.

To him his son Nikola comes and says with cheering voice.
Eat now and drink, Afëndi mine, and let thine heart rejoice!—
E'en if they should our houses burn, soon shall we build us more!
If they of us piastres ask, we'll give them gold galore!
If of our sheep they rob us now, we'll still have flocks enow,
For lucky still shall be the Vlachs of the Aspropotamo' "

The Demakë, whose memory is kept alive in this song, was a wealthy Vlach proprietor and head-man of the district lying along the banks of the Aspropotamos, the "White River." Having been induced by Turkish promises to quit his refuge at Mëzzovo, he and his sons were murdered in their house at Trikkala."

Marion NEWBIGIN

In 1915, a year after the start of the First World-War, Marion Newbigin, editor of "The Scottish Geographical Magazine," published a study of great interest for the time: "Geographical aspects of Balkan problems in their relation to the Great European War" (6).

In the chapter "The Peoples of the Peninsula" the author talks among other things about "The Vlachs nomads, their customs and their fate", and here is an extract: "The Vlachs are a people of considerable interest from many points of view, and though their political importance is small, they seem worthy of a little consideration because of the light which their history throws upon that of the races within the peninsula.

Typically, they are—or were—nomad shepherds, having temporary homes both in the mountains, where they pass the warmer period, and in the plains, coastal or interior, where they spend the winter. While, however, the lowland pastures, and thus the lowland dwellings, are necessarily scattered, communal life is possible on the heights, so that the mountain-village is reckoned as the true home. Their characteristic domestic animal is the sheep, but they also rear horses and donkeys. Their summer pasturages are—or were—to be found in all the Central Upland region, from the Stara Planina on the frontier between Serbia and Bulgaria southwards almost to the extremity of Greece, while the Pindus Range in the west has also many of these interesting shepherds. In winter they frequent the inner plains of Thessaly, and also those round the shores of the Ionian and AEgean Seas, as well as extending inland along the Vardar valley into the inner plains of Southern Macedonia, and even into Southern Albania, though the pastoral habits of the Albanians themselves tend to exclude the nomads from their lands. The Vlachs which keep this primitive nomadism own no mountain-pastures of their own, and the increasing rents they have to pay for grazing rights as the uplands become more and more utilized by the independent states are a great obstacle to their prosperity. Further, while, in the days when the land was largely Turkish, the nomads were free to wander from crest to crest, the development of the separate states, each closed from its neighbour by a customs barrier, is a very effective check to such free movement.

The result is that they tend more and more to lose their characteristic nomadism, ans settle down in villages in the lowlands, where they take to the cultivation of the ground, or become handicraftsmen, and thus are lost among the surrounding populations. In addition to the rearing of sheep, these Vlachs for long centuries carried on another occupation, which grew naturally out of their chief one. This was the carrying on of trade—trade which started with the peddling of domestic products, such as woven materials from the fleeces of their flocks, easily carried by their transport animals, and expanded, as is easy with a wandering folk, until the Vlach merchants were known far into Central Europe. But their primitive form of commerce naturally diminished with modern conditions, with the coming of roads and railways, and the linking of the peninsula to the rest of Europe.

Cvijic, in the article on the ethnography of the peninsula, already mentioned, gives a few lines of description of parties which he encountered in 1910, in the act of migrating from the plain round Salonika towards the mountains at the time of St. George's Day, lines which may be quoted here: "Each flock," he says, "contained some thousands of sheep, and the flocks were accompanied by the shepherds, or cajas, who may be recognized by their peculiar, very long staves, whose ends are beautifully coiled and carved. Such staves are carried by all the shepherds of the Balkan Peninsula. The shepherds had with them their sheepdogs, and behind the flocks appeared an entire movable and packed-up Vlach village. The men and women ride on horses and asses; the children are placed in side-baskets, forming a kind of pannier; and, in addition, every horse carries carpets, blankets, coverlets, cushions, then planks and all sorts of timber, and the household utensils. Towards evening the tents were set up by the way-side, and here all the people passed the night. During my journey I encountered in a single day, in some fifteen to twenty flocks, a total of 50,000 to 60,000 sheep." (pp. 124-127).(See plates).

George SCRIVEN

George Scriven, Brigadier General of the U.S. Army, spent a great deal of time in Albania, during the First World War. From amongst the numerous studies concerning this country, we underline a long article which appeared in the National Geographic Magazine: "Recent Observations in Albania" (7). In a long chapter entitled "The Strange Rumani" he has to say this about the Vlachs: "Among the Albanians lives a fragment of a strange people who call themselves Rumani, said to be descendants of the Romans—of that fifth Roman legion which dispersed and was scattered along the old highway stretching from Durazzo to Constantinople. This great road of ancient Rome (Via Egnatia), called at its beginning the Appian Way, passes southeast through Italy to Brindisi; begins again at Durazzo, runs thence through Elbasan by Lake Ochrida to Krusha, and on to Monastir and Vodena; thence to Saloniki and beyond to Constantinople.

The Rumani are very proud of their origin, and answer the question of race by saying. "I am a descendant of the Romans." They are a simple,

pastoral people, not given to robbery or brigandage. Their primitive little villages of stone are frequently seen in the mountains, often perched near high summits. A large colony of them, known as Vlachs, live on the slope of the Pindus Mountains in sight of Liascoviki, but far away across valley and gorge.

From the heights where they graze their flocks in summer, the Rumani descend into the valleys in winter; and on the road men, women, and children, surrounded by their hundreds of sheep and goats in search of grazing lands, form a picture of nomad life that reminds us of the days of Abraham.

There are said to be some 80,000 of these Rumani; but who really knows their number, scattered as they are over hundreds of mountain peaks, in inaccessible villages or caves and moving from place to place"" (pp. 97-98).

A year later, in another article which appeared in Geographical Review (8), "Roman Relics and Traditions," Scriven talks once more about the Vlachs: "The wanderings of these people began no doubt long before the galleys of old Rome visited the bays and inlets of the eastern Adriatic or her soldiers marched over the Via Egnatia. Along the coast, on the road, for instance, whose traces are still found near Porto Palermo, relics of Roman influence exist—a bridge here, a burial place there, or, most striking of all, the descendants of the men of the broken legion who still wander over the Albanian hills feeding their flocks in the valleys in winter or on the high hill slopes when summer comes. These are the pastoral Rumeni, who proudly reply when questioned. "I am of Rome." Of their origin they sing:

"O ye, who know it well,
Who know us full well,
O ye flowery valleys,
Ye lofty mountains, speak,
Talk to the people;
Relate to us, pray,
From what country we came,
O'er what roads we traveled
To thee, O Pindus;
For the world is not yet
Conscious of us and does not know
All the truth.

Ye have come here from Rome
And have grown up here;
Remote was the time—
It is known to me only;
I saw ye when small
And know well ye are Latins,
And it is your language
(Which recalls Rome to me)
That I talk with the birds
Of the Apennines and with those
Who build their nests

Among my ferns and have
So sweet a song
That it melts all hearts."

Margaret HASLUCK

The well known magazine "The Illustrated London News" of July 18, 1931, published an interesting and beautifully illustrated article on the Albano-Vlachs (Farsherots) entitled "Nomad shepherds of the Pindus mountains: primitive pastoral folk of Southern Albania and Northern Greece with no settled habitations" (9).

The author of this article is Margaret Hasluck (1885-1948), who had become greatly interested in the folklore of the Balkan countries, decided to devote herself to the study of this subject, and, with the help of a Wilson Travelling Fellowship, she returned to the Middle East. After extensive wanderings, she decided to settle in Albania. She remained in that country for thirteen years, building herself a house at Elbasan, and travelling constantly, especially in the mountainous region of the north where she lived with the people and got to know them intimately.

Here are a few passages of great significance from Hasluck's article: "The Albano-Vlachs talk Vlach, the Roumanian dialect often spoken in the Western Balkans. Nowadays most of the men wear trousers, but some still stick to their picturesque fustanellas and sleeveless redingotes.

The Albano-Vlachs are the tail-end of the main body of Vlachs who have been working their way since Roman times southwards from the Danube through Albania into Greece. They seem to have been always nomadic.

They are organised in small communities under a head shepherd, who is known by the Slav name of tcherlingas. He recruits his associates as follows. First he hires a certain amount of pasturage. Then at some autumn fair, such as that held at Konitza in Epirus on Sept. 26, he advertises, in the mysterious way of Eastern bazaars, that he wants so many sheep and goats to supplement his own the following summer. One shepherd after another enters into negotiations with him. Finally a bargain is struck about how many animals each shall bring, and how much milk is to be paid the tcherlingas for their keep. Then the negotiators part, to meet again the following spring. Neither party can read or write, but the bargain, once struck, is never broken. Each man's word is his bond. The voluntary partnerships last a year, and are renewable. While they last, the tcherlingas' word is law. (See plate)

The distinction of labour between the sexes is hard and fast. The men attend only to the flocks, leading them in Biblical fashion from pasturage to pasturage, milking them, and turning the milk into cheese. Their ill-famed dogs defend the flocks from marauding wolves and men, but do not drive them as ours do. During the winter the women knit vests,

drawers and stocks, and sew trousers, skirts, and shirts. During the summer they spin and weave their wool. As the greasy wool needs prolonged washing first, their summer camps are always pitched near strong, permanent springs.

In every respect the nomads live the simple life. Their food is cheese and maize bread. Their only luxuries are coffee, tobacco, sugar, and salt. Their lamps are chips of resinous wood. They light their fires with flint and tinder, not with matches. Their huts have earthen floors and neither beds nor chairs, the occupants sitting on the floor by day and sleeping on it by night. Their paucity of furniture has once cost them hard thinking. Balkan looms are horizontal, and weavers sit at them as we sit at tables.But these nomads have no chairs; stones make uncomfortable seats; and blocks from trees are not always available. How, then, can they weave at their looms? They have solved the problem by scooping a large hole in the ground and letting the loom down into it. When the weaver sits on the ground and rests her feet on the bottom of the hole, she is in the required position.

The construction of their beech huts is of some interest. Eighty young beeches are needed per hut. Forty of them are planted in a rough circle, and the others are tied together at the tops. Beech boughs are then interwoven with the trees. No nails are used, the boughs being tied with withies to the trees at the points of intersection. When both the frameworks are covered, a stout pole is pushed under the top-knot of the second set, which is then raised and carried towards the palisade. There it is gradually lowered till the tips of the trees overlap. Then the two sets are tied together with withies; the pole is driven some way into the ground; and the hut is ready. A hole is left for a door at one side. As the work is hard, it is done by the women. (See plate).

Round huts keep the wind and rain off better than oblong huts, and are easier to make. Unfortunately, it is customary for all the members of a family, whatever their age or sex, to sleep under one roof. But round huts cannot be built to accomodate more than a certain number of sleepers, and, if the family increases disproportionately, the hut must be made oblong. Then it collapses sometimes. It needs a roof-tree, which is laid on a forked pole at either end of the hut. The withies, however, which bind the tree to the forks are liable to snap.

No account of the Vlach nomads must omit to mention their bells. Of twelve different sizes, ten are tall and thin, like camel-bells, and made of brass. Two are fat and podgy, like Swiss cowbells, and made of copper. The ten are harmonised, and can play the scale from low doh to high me. Their musical tinkle on a lonely hillside on a summer evening sounds like delicate music from fairyland. And sometimes a tcherlingas will have out the spare bells in his camp and play himself a tune, or set the boys to play it for him." (See plate).

Christoph FURER-HAIMENDORF

Under the title "A wedding in the Bulgarian Mountains," The Geographical Magazine published an excellent article on the Vlach wedding customs of the Kurtovo (Bachitsa) village, situated in Rhodope Mountains of Bulgaria (10).

In the introduction, the author, Ch. Furer-Haimendorf, gives some general information concerning the Vlachs, who "differ from the people of Bulgarian origin living in the hidden valleys, not only in their speech, but also in form, stature, manners and customs. As long ago as the 10th century they separated from the main body of the Rumanians and went south with their flocks and herds. In the inhospitable mountain districts of Rhodope, Macedonia and Thessaly, where no one wished to dispute with them the ownership of fertile uncultivated lands, they began their free, wandering life. Their settlements are seldom visited by a Bulgarian peasant; and it is only when the snowstorms of the bitter winters oblige them to seek shelter that they go for a few months into the lower districts to seek for a short time hospitality from the dwellers in the valleys.

Anyone who wishes to know the Kara-Wallachians truly must visit them in their mountains where they keep their sheep, put up their little huts and hold their little festivals."(p. 203).

Later on, the author describes the road leading to the village: "We met great flocks of sheep, until we came to the edge of the forest, where small stunted shrubs grow Then we found ourselves among clumps of tall firs, warped and crippled by the winds. From rising ground we finally saw the Kara-Wallachian village of Kurtovo. There, where the meadow joins the ourskirts of the forest, about fifty very small and widely scattered huts were to be seen, with their roofs made of wooden planks glimmering like silver in the sunlight." (p. 203).

And now here is an interesting description of the houses in Kurtovo village: "We were received with hospitality on our arrival, and a shelter was found for us in the house of a man who assured us that we were welcome. The house did not look very attractive from the outside. It was made of rough, weather-worn wood, and the walls were low and had no windows. Loose wooden planks covered the pointed gables. I had to stoop while passing through the low door and was astonished to find myself in a comfortable room with decorations of great beauty. Felt carpets and woollen hangings, curtains in lovely and well assorted colourings, were laid everywhere on the floor. They are almost the only form of furnishing: the Kara-Wallachians do not use or know furniture as we understand it. The proof of riches and comfort in a house is the possession of thick bed-fleeces, which are carefully stored in a corner. A kettle on the fire, a few plates, dishes and bottles, all made of tin, complete the equipment of the house, which in any case must not be too abundant, because every year it has to be loaded on horses and taken down into the lower valleys". (pp. 203-205).

The author describes in detail the atmosphere which prevails on the eve of the wedding, as well as the preparations leading up to this

important event: "Our landlord told us that we had arrived just in time for a great event. Next morning the marriage of one of the richest girls in the village was to take place, and on that evening the festivities, which would last over several days, would begin. In the house of the bride's parents there was already a great deal of excitement. Neighbours and friends came to inspect the beautiful quilts, the many rich household treasures, and the gold and silver jewellery which is given to the bride on her marriage. This trousseau had taken many years to prepare, because it is customary for the bride not only to attend to her own trousseau, but to give presents to her nearest relatives and friends.

All visitors are invited to a drink, and joking and merriment are the order of the day. Only one thing is lacking—the bride. She must not appear. She is hidden away in a small dark room with a few women round her, expectantly waiting.

As a rule the Kara-Wallachians marry early, but the young people have little to say in the matter of choosing their mates. As among the nomadic races of Central Asia, the wish of the parents prevails. According to the ancient custom, the engaged couple must not see each other during the entire period of the engagement." (p. 205).

Futher on, Haimendorf gives a colourful description of the wedding of these shepherds "who observe some of the most ancient traditions of their kind." "Towards evening of the day before the wedding the young men of the village begin the ceremonial decoration of the house of the bridegroom's parents. They stick a red, highly decorated flag on the gable of the house. This flag is the banner of the bridegroom and is his property during all the festivities. When the decoration has been accomplished, the bridegroom is ceremoniously shaved in the presence of all the young bachelors of his neighbourhood. Meantime the bride is dressed by all her female friends and relatives in her bridal garments. Heavy silver chains are hung round her, and her hair, dressed high, is interwoven with chains to which gold coins are attached. Finally she is veiled in thick red material, which completely covers her face and figure. Now she has to take formal leave of her parents and sisters, and this is a terrible ordeal, which sorely tries the nerves of all concerned. For hours the bride kneels before her mother, deeply veiled and weeping hysterically. She bends her head all the time in token of submission to her fate. (See plates).

I saw this rite being performed one evening; it continued all through the night and the following day. It was a mystery to me how the girl could endure the sheer physical strain. It may be that under the influence of the regular and rhythmic movements of her head, the continual and monotonous howlings and the close atmosphere in the narrow overcrowded room, she fell into some kind of a trance, as happens among primitive people in ritualistic dances.

The songs, which begin in the evening and fill the hut until early morning, all relate to the marriage and departure of the bride from her home and parents. From time to time the clear voices of the girls are interrupted by rougher notes from the men, but no single voice is heard alone. In contrast to the cultured choral song of the Bulgarians, the

Kara-Wallachians sing on one note only. And the musical accompaniment is that of a strange and primitive world.

Night comes, and there is a lovely sky brilliant with stars. Light and song come only from the bride's house. At midnight a man comes out with a blazing torch in his hand and proceeds to the dancing-ground, where a large number of logs has been heaped. Soon the flames blaze up as high as the houses and are seen against the sky, so that the whole ground is illuminated. Now the girls and boys come along and dance around the bonfire. An old man leads the dance; more boys dance after him, and after them the girls. It is very rarely that a young man and a girl dance together. In this Wedding Dance no contact is allowed; they may only catch each other by the belts. The smooth, rhythmic and complicated dance steps are repeated. Gradually the tempo becomes quicker and the principal dancers take bolder steps. Soon the dancers are singing monotonous songs, after which they dance to the music of the shepherd's pipe. The more excited the movements become, the more serious and quiet becomes the demeanour of all the dancers, giving the appearance rather of a religious ceremony than a festivity. The dancers afford a fantastic spectacle in their beautiful coloured costumes, at one moment illuminated by the flickering light of the fire, at another disappearing in the darkness of the night or appearing as ghostly shadows against the fire. By degrees the fire burns down and everyone goes to the entertainment in the house of the bride's parents.

Next morning the village is very quiet. The people have been up almost all night and now the women have to attend to the daily work. Far over the fields the girls are going to the well, carrying drumshaped wooden buckets at the side or two buckets on a yoke on the shoulders. After this, they go home to dress for the wedding; their ordinary clothes are brightly coloured and pretty, but when they put on their wedding and holiday garments they are magnificently adorned, and they have some splendid jewellery and valuable silks which are a great contrast to the poverty of the houses. The principal adornment of the bride is the crown which she has to wear. First of all her own hair, often supplemented by artificial hair, is built up into a high structure. A silk ribbon is bound around this, so that the crown of her head is visible; the ribbon is bound round her neck and extends down to the waist. Silver chains and silver coins are inserted into this foundation and finally a large silver crown is placed on her head. This crown often weighs five pounds and has to be fastened under the chin to keep it in place.

During the whole of the morning the ceremonies of farewell to her friends and her parents occupy the girl. Songs and tears are heard from all sides, and appear to have no end. When we consider that the young wife's new home is not two hundred paces from her parents' home, this mourning and lamentation appears somewhat overdone. However, the custom certainly survives from olden times when girls were sent away to marriages in far-distant villages and seldom saw their friends again.

Early in the afternoon all come to the front of the bridegroom's house. Horses are saddled and the master of the ceremonies takes the red silk flag down from the roof. Now the bridegroom comes out. He is a tall

and handsome young man about eighteen years old. Instead of wearing trousers, he has a finely pleated white skirt which reaches the knees and exposes the legs like the kilt of a Scotsman. The wine-red jerkin, embroidered with silver, leaves his white shirt-sleeves uncovered. He has a white kerchief round his shoulders and in his black lambskin cap he wears a spray of artificial flowers. Some of his friends are similarly dressed, but other men wear trousers, tied round the bottoms. Now the bridegroom mounts the white horse which has a bright red holster over the wooden saddle. The procession sets out, with the master of ceremonies at the head, the bridegroom riding between his friends, and the women and older people following on foot. They go round the village until they arrive at the bride's house, where a most excellent breakfast awaits them. During the breakfast the master of ceremonies hands round the loving cup, and each guest drinks, expresses a wish for the happiness of the young couple, and contributes a piece of money for the new house.

The sun has now risen high in the sky and the wedding chant begins in the square. The bridegroom takes part, but the bride has still to remain hidden. Everybody in the village able to walk attends, and the dancers come forward interminably to the music of the shepherd's pipes. The master of ceremonies waves the red, bridegroom's flag, and only drops it when he is completely exhausted. Then another man takes his place and so the dance continues. But the old women sit round the square in rows and watch what is going on. This continues for hours and hours, till the shadows of the dancers begin to lengthen. Now the dance is suddenly cut short, and everyone goes to the house of the bride's parents. Some of the men carry the dowry, wrapped in large coloured cloths, on two horses. At last the bride appears outside the house. She wears a red veil which covers her completely and is ornamented with sparkling tinsel. She bows deeply three times before the white horse, and is then lifted into the saddle. The master of ceremonies rides his own horse, with the flag in his hand before the procession, the bride and bridegroom, accompanied by other guests, following, pack-horses completing the procession. The procession reaches the open meadow land, all the inhabitants of the village attending, their bright-coloured costumes glittering in the light of the setting sun. The beautiful mountain chains in the background make the whole scene like fairyland. Two young men slip out of the procession and ride their horses in a wild gallop over the meadows. Perhaps this may be to show off the paces of the horses, or it may be a relic of an old custom dating back to the time when the girl was married by capture and her lover ran away with her on horseback, together with his friends.

The procession stops on a hill, and a messenger hurries to the house of the bridegroom's parents in order to announce the imminent arrival of the bride. An enormous loaf of bread and a heap of sheep's wool await her at the threshold as symbols of what her work in the house is to be. Now there are further festivities in the house, and the bride sits in quiet and silence in the reception room while the bridegroom continues to dance. Nest morning, in the open air, the marriage takes place according to orthodox rites. A priest is summoned from the village, but everyone clearly feels that church ceremonial is a somewhat irrelevant incident in the ceremonies. Immediately after the marriage a lamb is slaughtered, roasted on a spit and eaten in the open field. Nobody in the village thinks of work

today, and until the evening the Wedding Dance is danced, with singing and drinking. But the marriage night ends all this for the bridal pair. Next morning there is great rejoicing, and parents, relations and friends come along and congratulate the young couple." (pp. 208-214)

We should mention the fact that this excellent description of the wedding is accompanied by numerous photographs which complement the text and liven it up.

NAVAL INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

Since 1915, the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division of the Admiralty has published a number of geographical handbooks on various parts of the world "for the use of persons in H.M. Service only and which must not be shown, or made available, to the press or to any member of the public."

Many distinguished collaborators, and especially trained geographers drawn largely from the universities, and working at sub-centers established at Oxford and Cambridge, assisted in the production.

These handbooks which deal, in a convenient and easily digested form, with the geography, ethnology, administration, and resources of various countries, acquired a high reputation for accuracy and impartiality.

From the series "Greece" (in three volumes) we have reproduced the following excerpts concerning the Vlachs (11):

"Apart from the Slavs and the Bulgars, another non-Greek people emerge in the history of medieval Greece. Their language is a dialect of Romanian and is therefore derived from Latin; and it is generally admitted that they are descended from Roman colonists and Latinized provincials in the areas north and south of the Danube." (I, p. 163).

"At the census of 1928 there were 19,703 Vlach speakers in Greece although some estimates have placed their number at many times this figure. They are for the most part nomadic shepherds and herdsmen, and are to be found principally in the Pindhos mountains, though Vlach villages are scattered throughout the Balkans. In winter the Vlachs of the Pindhos take their flocks down into the plains of Ipiros, Thessalia and Makedhonia; and in modern Greek the word 'vlachos' signifies a shepherd. Their language is a dialect of Romanian with an admixture of Greek, Slav, Turkish and Albanian words. All the men and many of the women are bilingual with Greek, Bulgarian, Albanian or Serbian as their second language. Most of them belong to the Orthodox Church. The hellenized or semi-hellenized Vlachs between Grevena and the pure Vlach villages of the Pindhos are known as 'Kupatshari'. Some Vlachs have taken to trade, and families of Vlach descent are numerous in Thessalian villages as weavers of frieze cloth and makers of rough jewellery, and as small general shopkeepers and itinerant traders; many have become carriers (kiradjis). These have been

almost completely hellenized, but the nomadic groups still retain their distinct customs and their tongue. Some Vlachs are also to be found in the great cities of Greece (e.g. in Thessaloniki and Sérrai), and have shown great business ability. One of the richest modern millionaires, M. Averof, who presented Greece with her only heavy cruiser, was a Vlach.

The name 'Vlachs' or 'Wallachs' was applied to them by their neighbours; its origin is identical with the English 'Wealh' or 'Welsh' (i.e. stranger), and is a Slavonic version of a general term used by Teutonic peoples to describe Roman provincials in the fourth and fifth centuries. The Vlachs, however, call themselves, 'Aromani', i.e. Romans, and are also known as 'Tzintzars' and 'Koutsovlachs'. These last two are nicknames. 'Tzintzar' is derived from the numerous sibilant sounds in the Vlach tongue, thus the Romanian 'cinci' (five) is 'tsintsi' in Vlach. The origin of 'Koutsoclach' has been disputed, but the general opinion is that it means 'lame Vlach', with reference either to their speech or to their subsidiary relation to the main body of Romanians. They are also called 'Macedo-Romans' in contrast to the Daco-Romans north of the Danube.

The origin of the Vlachs is obscure and has given rise to much dispute, but it is now generally admitted that they are descended from Roman colonists and latinized provincials in the areas north and south of the Danube, and that, as their language suggests, they are akin to the Romanians. Their existence may be inferred from records as early as the sixth century in date, but the first definite mention of them is not until the year 976. During the next two centuries reference to them becomes frequent, but they were intermingled with other peoples in such a way that it is difficult to form any clear idea of their distribution. Several districts were called after them in the Middle Ages; thus ''Great Vlachia' was the name given to Thessaly and southern Macedonia, and 'Little Vlachia' to Acarnania and Aetolia, while there were Vlachs also in Bulgaria and to the north. These last were involved in the revolt against the Byzantine empire which led to the establishment of the second Bulgarian empire of 1186-1258.

In the eleventh-century Strategicon of Cecaumenos, there is a description of the Vlachs around Trikkala and Larissa in Thessaly. Their mode of living then seems to have been very similar to what it is to-day; from April to September they lived with their flocks in the mountains and descended to the plains only in winter. There is also reference in the same account to the appointment of a Byzantine official to administer the Vlachs. Towards the end of the eleventh century, the southern Vlachs were again mentioned by the Byzantine historian Anna Comnena who referred to nomadic folk 'commonly called Vlachs' in the mountainous region of Thessaly. Benjamin of Tudela, about 1170, described them thus: 'Here are the confines of Wallachia, a country of which the inhabitants are called Vlachi. They are as nimble as deer and descend from their mountains into the plains of Greece committing robberies and taking booty. Nobody ventures to make war on them, nor can any king bring them to submission." Under the Frankish regime, in the thirteenth century, these Vlachs of Thessaly emerged for a time as an independent principality; but when the line of Vlach princes became extinct in 1318, their territories were divided between the Byzantine empire and the Catalan duchy of Athens. Although

they never again achieved political independence, the Vlachs have maintained their separate identity throughout subsequent political changes. Under the Turkish regime they paid tribute, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many Vlachs were to be found engaged in commerce in the towns of the Turkish empire.

During the nineteenth century a nationalist movement, with cultural aspiration, gained some strength among the Vlachs, as among the other small peoples of Europe. This movement was encouraged from Romania, especially after the union of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1861; schools were started, amongst other places at Janina and Salonica; increasingly large sums appeared in the Romanian budget as subsidies for Vlach education, and Vlach periodicals were printed at Bucharest; but the Vlachs were too scattered to form a coherent self-conscious minority. In 1881, with the acquisition of Thessalia from the Turks, the most compact group of Vlachs passed into Greece. In 1905 the Sultan recognized the remaining Vlachs of the Turkish empire as a separate ecclesiastical unit with a national liturgy, no longer subject to the Greek Patriarchate. This separate recognition was resented at Athinai, and relations were broken off for a time between Greece and Romania.

In 1913, after the Balkan wars, Greece, like Serbia and Bulgaria, made an agreement with Romania, granting autonomy to Vlach schools and churches in Greek territory. Romania, moreover, was allowed to subsidize these institutions, under Greek supervision, and this arrangement has never been abrogated. Religious services continued to be conducted in Vlach; and, by the Greek Minorities Treaty of 1920, the Vlachs of the Pindhos were confirmed in their religious and scholastic autonomy under the control of the Greek state." (pp. I, 358-361).

The situation of the Vlachs after the first world war is thus described: "After the war of 1914-18, when Greek refugees from Turkey settled in Ipiros and Makedhonia, the amount of land available to the Vlachs for grazing was greatly reduced, and much of their stock had to be killed or sold. Many of them therefore emigrated to Romania, encouraged by the Romanian government, whose policy it was to settle them in the southern Dobrudja; these emigrants have been estimated at something under 30,000. This movement has continued on a small scale, so that by 1939 there probably were in Greece somewhat fewer than the 19,703 Vlachs speakers enumerated in the census of 1928.

During the autumn of 1940 there were rumours that Italian propaganda had stirred up anti-Greek feeling among the Vlachs of the Pindhos, and reports from Romania in 1941 stated that some Vlachs had been arrested by the Greek government. In the spring of 1942, Romania also showed its interest in the Greek Vlachs by promissing to send food into Greece for their relief." (I, pp. 361-362).

Here is a suggestive description of the pastoral life of the Vlachs from Pindus as well as of their annual movements: "The high valleys contain many villages above 5,000 feet in altitude and that the largest body of pastoral people in the Balkan Peninsula, the Kutzo-Vlachs or Aromani, have their homes in this region.

The rich pastures also account for the influx of population in summer to all the high ranges and more particularly to the well-watered ranges north of the Pass of Mētsovon. In this northern area the traditional pastoral life of the Balkan highlanders has been most fully preserved. Originally this type of life may have involved complete nomadism, whereas the Vlachs are now semi-nomadic with their real homes in the mountain villages which they occupy in summer only. The winter quarters of this group are in the lowlands of Thessalia, in towns such as Kalabaka and Trikkala where they are engaged in trades or in transport. Many of them, however, live in tents or mere huts of branches, while their flocks of sheep and goats winter on the lowland pastures. The pastoral economy is directed toward the maximum production of milk, meat, wool, hair and skins, and the winter migration is necessary for the preservation of the stock as well as being a supplementary means of livelihood for the people. Hence the annual movements of the Vlachs are a direct adaptation to the climates of northern Greece. The lambs and kids born on the plains in December or January cannot be moved until weaned, though most of the young males are sold when one month old. The Vlach Highlands are reached on the summer migration, chiefly by way of the Pinios valley, or from the east by that of the upper Aliakmon. Not all the Vlach villages are in the highland; some important places are at the lower limit of the Vlach district and are chiefly winter villages; Grevena, 1,800 ft. in height and 5 miles from the Aliakmon, is typical. Such places offer intermediate pastures in early summer, and large numbers of the migrant Vlachs arrange to be there during the great festival of St.Akhillios. This is held at the end of May (New Calendar) and marks the beginning of the full summer season. Before the end of July large quantities of cheese have been made and sent by mule to the Ioannina market. It is produced from the milk of ewes, each of which yields some 280 pints annually. and from the less rich milk of goats. The wool and hair-clip from the flocks has also been marketed during this period. By the Feast of the Assumption, on 28 August, work has slowed down, the year's wedding are celebrated, village dances are held on the green, and betrothals are made for the next year. During October, snowfalls usually warn the Vlach shepherds to be ready for the downward migration which takes place about St.Demetriu's Day (8 November).

It is obvious that the summer population will be much greater than that recorded in the census of 1928, taken on 15-16 May, and it is probable that the difference would be greater in the northern part of the mountains. The following figures, however, show that the region contains a relatively large population that is more or less settled. In the Grammos mountains there are some 15,000 people, or 34 per sq. mile, mostly living in large villages in the basin of the Sarandaporos, the chief being Pirsoyianni (population 910). In the Vlach Highlands the villages are also large and wide apart. Samarina situated at the foot of Mount Smolikas at an altitude of 4,760 ft. and with a population of 603, is a good example. The total population is 17,000 and the density is 34 to the sq. mile. The upper valleys of the Pinios and the Metsovitikos, along the important Mētsovon route, are much more populous, with some 17,040 people living in a narrow strip across the mountains. Here, the average density is 96 per sq. mile. The two largest villages flank the pass on either side, Mētsovon on the west, with a population of 2,156, and Malakasi on the east with a population of 832." (III, pp. 16-17).

Irwin SANDERS

The Balkans had interested Professor I, Sanders, of the University of Kentucky, since 1929, when he first went as an instructor to the American College of Sofia, when he spent six years (1929-32, 1934-37). There was also a year's tour as Agricultural Attaché in the American Embassy in Belgrade (1945-46).

Two voyages of discovery in 1930 and 1937 made him more anxious to live there for a spell, and finally when a sabbatical year became due in 1952-53, he inevitably chose the Balkans.

In a paper published in Social Forces, in 1954(12), the author sketches some of the stark realities of social changes facing the nomadic shepherd groups of northern Greece: the Koutzo-Vlachs, Arvanito-Vlachs, and Sarakatsani: "These nomads have from time immemorial made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and northern Greece. They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different, and some of them differ linguistically.

Throughout much of Greece one can see their rounded branch and reed huts, surrounded by wattled sheepfolds, put up either in some isolated, sheltered spot or at the edge of some village. Although in Greece they do not number more than 10,000-12,000 families, they stand out picturesquely wherever they are. The men are dressed in tight-fitting black felt trousers and a black waistcoat and usually carry a black hiplength cape slung over their shoulder. They wear a round brimless lambskin cap. Many of the nomad women, in contrast to most of the Greek peasant women who now wear variations of western dress, still keep to their heavy pleated homespun skirts, thick wool stockings, and usually a wide leather belt. (p. 122).

"On the basis of language one can easily divide these shepherd peoples into three groups. There are Koutzo-Vlachs (the Lame Vlachs) who speak a Latin tongue in the home although most of them, particularly the men, know Greek; the Arvanito-Vlachs (also called Karagouni because of the black cape they wear) who speak Albanian among themselves, although they still understand the Latin language of the Koutzo-Vlachs from whom they derive; and a third group, or Sarakatsani, which is said not to be Vlach at all but speaks Greek as its only language." (p. 123).

Since Sander's definition of the Arvanito-Vlachs (they call themselves Farsherotes) is somehow ambiguous and imprecise, we consider it necessary to reproduce an extract from J.K. Campbell which - in our opinion - reflects the commonly accepted point of view:

"... Koutsovlachs an ethnic minority group speaking a romance language akin to Rumanian, or the related groups of Albanian Vlachs (Arvanitovlachoi) who are trilingual, speaking the Koutsovlach language as their mother tongue and Greek and Albanian for political and commercial reasons." (13).

Ensuing is the reproduction of the more significant extracts from

Sander's article on the Koutsovlachs and Arvanitovlachs.

On the subject of the Koutsovlachs he states: "The origin of these Koutzo-Vlachs is one of the great ethnic puzzles of the Balkans, for their Latin tongue—although greatly corrupted by words from other Balkan languages—follows the four conjugations of ancient Latin. As in most riddles of this sort, nationalistic interests have led to several extravagant claims. Some of the modern Rumanians, chiefly in the old provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, looked to the south across Bulgaria and what is now Yugoslavia to claim these Romance-speaking shepherds as long-lost brothers to be reunited with the "homeland." Most of these Rumanian scholars, who tried to prove that the nomads had been Rumanians pushing south with their flocks centuries ago, advanced these views during the last century and the early part of this century when the struggle for independence was reverberating through Epirus, Macedonia, and other areas frequented by these nomads.

A detached assessment of the situation, and yet one without much more tangible evidence to support it, would consider these Wallachians as descendants of Balkanites of Roman times, who were Latinized by colonists, army garrisons, or some other continued type of association. When the Slavs came pushing into the Balkans during the sixth century, these Wallachians retreated to the mountain areas and continued (or took up) sheep-raising and remained relatively unmolested. Since they could not wrest an adequate living from their barren surroundings, many of the men found it necessary to migrate elsewhere for work. Some were gone many years and some went away for only part of the year, but almost all of them learned some trade, becoming important as builders and artisans all over the Balkans. Of even greater importance was their role as the caravan owners and drivers. They raised not only sheep but many horses which they concentrated at certain points such as Salonica, loaded them with merchandise, and conveyed the goods through well-defined routes to Vienna or down to the Adriatic. Considerable wealth was amassed in this way. Some of their settlements two hundred years ago—for example, Moschopolis in present-day Albania—were centers of enlightenment and wealth. With the coming of railroads their caravans were no longer necessary, and with the growing unrest in the Balkans during the past hundred years free passage from one country to another was increasingly difficult. Although the various treaties following the Balkan Wars and World War I provided for the free movement of these nomads from one country to another, particularly with their flocks, the borders had in effect been closed to them even before the start of World War II.

In trying to understand the Vlachs today it is not surprising to find continued confusion as to the groupings among them reflected in much contradictory information given me in Athens when I tried to familiarize myself with the available data before going to northern Greece. Fortunately, I already had some background. In 1929 I had visited some Vlach encampments near Samokov, in southwestern Bulgaria, making an introductory study of their social organization. In their camp I had bought rugs and had watched them prepare for their trek from Samokov through the mountains, across the Greek-Bulgarian frontier, into the warmer area near the Gulf of Salonica. A vivid memory was that of being awakened early one morning by the sound of their procession moving through the streets of the town.

In 1945-46, while traveling extensively through Yugoslavia, I came across this same kind of people who were here called Tsintsars, probably because of the frequency of the ts sounds in their language. In Belgrade I even found that some of my acquaintances, already thoroughly Serbianized, boasted of their Wallachian origin and told me with pride of their family history.

My chief contacts with the Koutzo-Vlachs during 1953, however, were in Metsovo, one of their most celebrated villages, and along the roads of Greece where I found them on their big migration from the plains to the mountains. Of the three nomadic groups, they have been most fully described and documented in the literature, notably in the memorable book by Wace and Thompson, Nomads of the Balkans, which was based on extended acquaintance with the prople of Samarina, another well-known Koutzo-Vlach village.

Four of the effects of this migratory life, which Wace and Thompson list, seem to hold true for all of the nomadic groups even in 1953, and deserve brief mention. Such a migration, for instance, presents a wider outlook on life in general in contrast to the utter stagnation normal in remote villages. At the same time, it is a serious financial drain, for two houses must be kept up; nevertheless, what is lost in cash is perhaps gained in health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth." (p. 124).

There are very few researchers which have studied the social changes facing the Arvanito-Vlachs nomads, that is why Sander's study from which we'll reproduce some long extracts, is of paramount importance in so far as understanding them during this period of transition and radical changes in their lives: "It was late afternoon when we drove across the bridge into Konitsa, a border outpost, and found Christos Beratis, a chief shepherd with whom we had visited the day before in Ioannina. He had invited us to his roadside camp in the following evening. Heading back into the countryside we saw within a mile of town his camp of four tents up on the left. As his flocks, totaling about 800 animals, had not yet arrived, he was somewhat disturbed and asked if we could drive back towards Kalpaki to meet them. We passed at least eight other flocks whose shepherds Beratis knew and with whom he talked briefly. These shepherds were very happy to accept the cigarettes we offered but were both awed and mystified—to Beratis' delight—at seeing him riding in an American car. They kept telling him that his flocks must be quite far behind. Even when a flock came into view at some distance Beratis could tell it was not his by the sounds of the bells. His anxiety grew as dusk came on and we saw no more flocks on the road. Then suddenly he asked us to stop. He said, "They are over there!" and pointed far to the left. And sure enough, we heard the faint tinkle of bells and then about two hundred yards away saw the sheep coming. His flock, taking a shortcut, had left the main route. He called to the shepherd and found that everything was in good order. Reassured, Beratis was ready to go back to the camp to wait for his sheep.

We had to leave the car along the main highway and scramble up the high bank before finding the path that led us up the hill. There in a row, about ten feet apart, stood the four tents of brown homespun waterproof mohair, each stretched on a frame consisting of three poles tied at the top. The first tent was that of Christo, his son, and daughter. A small fire of pournari (the evergreen oak with hollylike leaves) was replenished with fuel cut by a small sharp axe. In that tent alone were seven big woven duffel bags stuffed full of belongings. The floor of the tent was covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. As we sat, at Christo's bidding, in front of the tent we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right the town of Konitsa spread like a jewelled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses made a scene that was separate from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly separate in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space it was only twenty miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Beratis' daughter, Vassiliki, we learned had been engaged for two years to a boy whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "The word is given." At this point in the conversation, Vassiliki, much flustered and greatly embarrassed, went into the neighboring tent to make some Greek coffee. When we asked our host if his people had a dowry system, he grunted and said, "Ten years ago women took only their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Since this was Saturday the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair with the exception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small shallow oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged on, as darkness shut down and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension left as we heard the flocks come nearer. They arrived at 9:30 and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A barricade of saddles, firewood and thistles had already been made in which a small opening had been kept. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening; as each ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and milk her. Here as elsewhere in Greece the women never milked the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well underway, Vassiliki got a frying pan full of strained milk and set it on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. As we had all expected food between six and seven, by ten o'clock any food served in this mountain air would have been most welcome. The richness of

the milk, the flavor of the coarse bread, and the salty taste of the cheese made this a meal that I shall long remember. Even as we ate we watched the milking going on near by. Each animal was named according to some physical characteristic corresponding to "Brownie," "Dotty," "Blackie," of called after some person whom the shepherd thought the sheep resembled. As the men sat there we asked them how they milked when it rained. They told us that they simply put on their heavy waterproof capes and kept right on milking.

Some of the sheep were sheared and others were not. We learned that the shearing was done "below" (on the plains) and the wool sold unwashed for "it weighs more with the oil in it." The unsheared animals were simply carrying up to the summer camp the supply of wool that the women would need to use in making their blankets and heavy garments. Some of the animals were sheared so as to form various symmetrical patterns, a style of decoration which pleases the children, so the older people said. These fancy designs are not nearly so common now as formerly, according to Beratis.

Aside from the unforgettable mountain setting and the interesting activities going on in the firelit darkness about me, the main conversational topic of the evening which made it memorable was the discussion of the present problems facing nomadic peoples. Since my central interest was upon social change I welcomed the turning of the talk into such a channel.

Without doubt the life of the nomad is getting more difficult every year. A major problem has already been mentioned: land on the plains below is no longer as available as it used to be. Scientific agriculture is winning the day and pastoralism is on the way out. But Beratis and his men were most bitter about the difficulties they faced en route between summer and winter pastures. We had noticed the many "Keep Off" signs represented by a pile of stones perhaps a foot high or by tufts of straw twisted onto a branch, warning the nomad not to trespass for fear of punishment. These signs were numerous even as one approached an entered the mountain areas and that was why the men had had to bring in one day the sheep all the way from Kalpaki to Konitsa, using routes shorter than the main road but nevertheless arriving late at night. Since they were tired from this experience they felt such a long march most unfair. One man said, "Here in the mountains a peasant will sow only one oke (2.8 pounds) of seed in a field so he will have an excuse to keep us out." The field policeman, who serves a commune although under the authority of the central government, patrols his beat most vigorously during these days of migration. He not only sees that the animals keep out of forbidden fields but also enforces the custom that no nomad family camp in one place longer than twenty-four hours. But most field policemen are quite ready to show the nomadswhere they can find a camp site in the event some old one is no longer available, for these guards expect a tip—a box of cigarettes or "whatever one has the pleasure to give," as Beratis put it.

These nomads apparently feel that many of the "Keep Off" signs are put up simply out of spite, thus bringing to light the distrust between the peasant and the nomad. Because of this, I was not surprised to learn from

Beratis and his men that they felt that the government seemed to be bent on destroying their way of life and forcing them into other occupations. At least three rather high officials in northern Greece confirmed this point of view but insisted that the policies were ultimately in the nomads' interest.

When I asked Beratis whether he wanted to settle down, he said that it was all right for the small livestock owners but that it was impossible for a large owner like himself with 800 sheep. He would keep on trying to make a go of it as he had done in the past. Then I put another question to him, "If I could wave a magic wand and could get the weather to stay cool in the plains so that you could remain there rather than go up into the mountains, would you be satisfied below and be glad you didn't have to go through this upheaval of movement twice a year?"

His immediate reply was, "I would get sick," and all of the other men nodded their head affirmatively. "I even have to go to the same spot, not just anywhere up the mountains. And the sheep need the change too. They got sick during the Civil War (1946-1949) when they were not able to make the change."

I then knew that to ask him and the successful nomads of his generation to give up pastoralism was like asking the swallows not to return to Capistrano. They may be forced eventually to do so, but they will feel sick and ill-at-case in a world with which they are not familiar." (pp.126-129).

Muriel DIMEN-SCHEIN

Muriel Dimen-Schein is currently Associated Professor of Anthropology at Herbert H. Lehman College. Her fieldwork includes, among other things, research in two Vlach mountain villages in Epiros, Greece: Fourka and Kriovrisi (Migidei).

The first fieldresearch war carried out in the village of Fourka, from July 1967 to July 1968.

"Fourka in particular was choses as the site of research because the original aim of the field research was a study of sedentarization of transhumant Koutsoclach shepherds. Fourka was said to be a Koutsovlach summer village composed entirely of shepherds who wintered in the plain of Epiros".

In her essay "Change and continuity in a Greek mountain village (14), submitted in partial fulfillement of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the author presents an analysis of the process of change and continuity in Fourka, a Vlach village with some 400 inhabitants, half of them being transhumant shepherds, the remainder being small-scale farmers, construction workers, and tailors.

Following is an abstract from Schein's essay:

It is hypothesized that by the mid-nineteenth century, certain demographic, economic, and political conditions resulted in the development of a two-class social structure in Fourka. The upper class were those with legal village residence rights, which included the right to use village common pastures, attend the village school, and participate in village government. The upper class were transhumant shepherds, small-scale farmers, and tailors. The lower class consisted of transhumant shepherd households. They had no residence rights anywhere, and their only means of access to pasture was to work as herders for official residents. Various distinctions developed between the class, including residential and social separation, wealth and status differences, contrasting life-styles and educational levels, and class endogamy. The upper class controlled nearly all extra-village political and economic contacts.

After 1900, changed external conditions transformed the village's economic and social structure. Turkey's cession of Epiros to Greece in 1913 resulted in increased population movement from Epiros. Land reforms instituted by the Greek government from 1911 to 1940 increased agricultural productivity in more fertile areas, and farming in the mountains declined. Members of Fourka's upper class began to emigrate to the United States and to cities within Greece. Laws of 1930 and 1938 extended equal village, residence rights to non-resident shepherds, and many lower class shepherds entered Fourka in the 1930's.

As a result, the lower class shepherds gained equal access to pasture and equal political rights, and by 1940 the upper class no longer employed them as herders. The wars of 1940-1949 eliminated any remaining wealt distinctions between the two classes. After the war years, herding was the only occupation to expand, owing to increased demand for meat and to government aid to shepherds. The non-shepherds who remain in Fourka have entered the construction trade or work as temporary laborers in West Germany.

These economic and political changes have eliminated certain class distinctions in Fourka. Wealth correlates with occupation, not with class membership. There are no major differences in consumption patterns, but rather gradations according to wealth. Educational differences are now being leveled. All people have the same rank in daily informal social interaction; for more formal behavior, social rank varies for different purposes.

However, the increased articulation of the village with the urban stratification system maintains other class distinctions. Because of their past class position, members of the upper class who emigrated to cities in Greece have been able to achieve greater economic and social mobility than have lower class emigrants. The former are now in the urban middle class, the latter in the urban lower class. Since the prestige of those who remain in Fourka partly depends on the social position of urban kin, some members of upper class family lines still occupy higher ranks in Fourka than some of the lower class. The effects of this are seen in continued class endogamy and in the maintenance by the upper class of their control of the village government.

As far as the sedentarization process of Vlach shepherds after the

Second World War is concerned, note also the following two studies on the same topic:

a) Tradition and innovation at Tzintzars in Ovce Polje in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia by Dragoslav Antonijevic (15), and

b) L'évolution contemporaine de la vie pastorale en Albanie méridionale (Contemporary evolution of pastoral life in Southern Albania) by André Blanc (16).

After studying the lifestyle of the Vlachs from Fourka, Muriel Schein "spent another year studying the lives of the 430 inhabitants of Kriovrisi (Migidei, n.n.), a remote village high in the Pindus Mountains of northwestern Greece, belonging to an ethnic minority known as Koutsovlachs"(17).

Here is a summary description of the village and its inhabitants: "Residing in stone houses clustered on a steep mountain slope, the people of Kriovrisi eke out a living from small, barely arable plots in the shallow valley below the village and from overgrazed pastures and pine forests on the surrounding mountainsides. The majority of the men are shepherds, keeping flocks of sheep and goats; the rest farm or engage in miscellaneous occupations. Their work requires a multiplicity of skills, entrepreneurship, travel, and contacts. In contrast, the lives of the women are similar; all perform the basic tasks of cooking, cleaning clothes making and child rearing." (p. 52).

The author has long been interested in the widespread contrast between the lives of men and women. "Yet I know that Kriovrisi women are content with their lives, and I recognize the validity and appropriateness of their feelings. Current thought tempts one to say that the position of Kriovrisi women results from male oppression. However, although male chauvinism indeed exists in the daily life of Kriovrisi (and of New York City), it is nowhere the cause of female oppression. Seen from afar the activities and prestige of each sex form parts of a total system. Here, then we can examine the lives of women in one small village and perhaps understand one part of this system.

In Kriovrisi, a man's achievements—the type of work he does, the degree of financial success, his largesse toward other men—partly determine his own and his wife's social rank. Nonmanual labor is more prestigious than manual labor. The wife of a shepherd or a farmer will at times have to work in the fields or the pastures. Based on this criterion the wives of the village stock merchant, of the village cheese merchant, and of the village secretary rank highest. Most occupations, however, involve manual labor, so that the rest of the villagers are then judged according to their earnings. The merchants are the wealthiest, and shepherds tend to be wealthier than any others.

A further consideration is independence. It is preferable to work for oneself but a wealthy hired herder will receive more prestige than a poor independent shepherd. The uses to which a man puts his income also

affect his rank and therefore, that of his wife. These uses include meat once a week, wine and liquor for guests,urban style clothing,a house in good repair and a secondary school education for his sons. In addition, he must be generous outside his household, treat other men to coffee or drinks in a cafe, and publicly pay large sums to the bands of musicians who come to Kriovrisi on festival days.

The behavior and demeanor of her children, their progress in school, and their prospects for marriage and work also contribute to a woman's position. It is a great disappointment if a woman is childless, but it is considered foolish and animallike to have more than four children. When children are below school age, they are their mothers' special responsibility. Our landlady, Evanthia, told of a time during the Greek civil war (1947-49) when she was alone in her home with her young son when the enemy arrived. She feared for her son's life not only because she loved him but also because if anything had happened to him, "my husband would have killed me."

If children attend school regularly, learn to read, write, and count and win prizes on the annual day of promotion in June, both they and their parents receive praise. Passing the examination to attend secondary school located in the county seat brings even more honor to parents, especially to mothers. As they mature, children must behave respectfully toward their elders. A well-behaved child, on entering a room or store where people are sitting, always says, "Good-day to you," and "good-bye" on leaving; to omit this will bring forth comments on the child's upbringing. Thus, the low opinion that the village women had of one woman, who was poor and who, with her husband, had once held unpopular political views, was ameliorated somewhat by the educational achievements and good manners of her three sons.

The marriages parents arrange for their children can also bring prestige. If a mother has raised her daughter to be a skilled house keeper and if a father has amassed a dowry of $2,000 or more, they can find a suitable husband for her, say, a clerk in a town bank. Such a marriage means upward mobility for the daughter and is a tribute to her parents' farsightedness.

A woman's household skills, the final criterion of prestige, also bear on the other criteria, for her children's behavior and her husband's business success depend to some extent on how well she feeds and clothes them. Her house must always be presentable: indeed, cleaning and decoration are frequently done with the thought that "someone might drop in." This standard requires daily airing of rugs and blankets, sweeping, polishing of the glass shades from the kerosine lamps (Kriovrisi has no electricity), and two or three trips to one of the 13 village springs for water. Women take pride in this hard work.

Daily household work includes food preparation. The housewife provides coffee and bread for breakfast, the main meal at noon or one o'clock, and a supper of leftovers and salad at seven or eight o'clock. Because the midday meal is the most important, providing the most nourishment, it requires planning and creativity. As one woman put it after we had finished the midday meal, "Well that's another day taken care of." A good housewife can feed unexpected guests, and can offer sweets, coffee, and liqueurs to

afternoon and Sunday visitors.

In addition to the daily routine, there are other occasional but essential tasks. Women bake all the bread, which constitutes half the diet, a dozen or so loaves at a time. They are very critical of their own and others' bread, often comparing lightness, texture, and taste. Periodically, clothes, blankets, and rugs must be washed and clothing ironed. The industrious housewife collects brushwood to burn in the oven and chops the firewood that her husband or son has brought from the forest. The most fastidious and admired housewives clean their houses thoroughly once a year, usually in June. This can take two or three weeks and involves not only scrubbing and repairing furnishing but also covering the walls with lime, which makes them white and bright and "kills germs."

When all of these maintenance tasks are done, women devote their time to other more creative work in which they take a great deal of interest, and which provides a more durable basis for prestige. In May or June they begin to wash and dye wool gathered from their own sheep or purchased from shepherds. They spend all their free time spinning. Once the wool is spun, the women knit underwear, socks, and sweaters, or weave blankets and rugs. The older women sometimes make original patterns while the younger women copy designs of rugs that they see in urban magazines. They discuss and compare each other's rugs, most of which are for household use. Only a few of these are sold at the annual bazaar held in the county seat. Married women work on items for their own houses, while unmarried women make their trousseaux.

In part, then,women derive their identity from their work. Men do certain things, women do others. Women take pride in their ability to do necessary work that men and children cannot do for themselves. When Evanthia's sons were leaving on their winter migration with their flocks, her daughter, Amalia,packed their clothes and set aside food. I suggested that the men could do that themselves. Amalia said, "They're men and they don't know how," then added that men are not inclined to do this work and do not want to learn, for it would be inappropriate for them.

A woman gains her identity and prestige primarily from family and household activities. A woman's personal creations, represented, for example, by woven woolen articles, can be worked on only when the major and most time-consuming treadmill tasks of household maintenance are done. Her only other products are her children. It is not surprising then, that a woman's prestige derives, not from her own achievements, but from those of other members of her household and family line. Even the name that many people know her by is not her own, but her husband's. She takes not only his last name but also his first: if his name is Takis she is known to his relatives and friends as (Mrs.) Takina.

In contrast, men engage in various business pursuits and have personal transactions with men from other households, as well as with merchants and government officials outside of Kriovrisi. Their prestige and rank are not limited to household and family, although these are important.

In Kriovrisi, this situation exists because there is no alternative

role for women. Not only would few men and women seriously consider other activities as appropriate for women, but the village's economic and social structure does not permit other possibilities. Females are brought up solely to perform the combined role of wife and mother. When a girl is born, the joy at her birth is tinged with disappointment. Although all children are valued sons affirm their fathers' masculinity. Furthermore, daughters are an economic burden. Sons bring in money in the form of a wife's dowry, daughters take it away for their dowries.

Young girls are encouraged to perform womanly tasks. By the time they are six, they learn to spin, using a stick and a bit of old wool their mothers have given them. Two or three will stand on a pathway, in perfect imitation of their mothers, spinning and talking. Both boys and girls begin school at age six, but six grades are considered sufficient for girls. They will, after all, marry: secondary education is not necessary for that. In Kriovrisi only 4 girls out of 62 unmarried girls of the appropriate age were attending secondary school or a university in 1967-68. It is a different matter for boys, who are encouraged to go on to the six-year high school if they can. Since not all boys can make a decent living in the village, an education is important for it may lead to economic and social mobility outside the village. Although schooling is free, the student must pay for room and board in the town. While some return on this investment can be expected for males, this expense would be a waste for femaleswho need the money for dowries. In addition the income an educated boy can earn helps to dower his sister. So girls finish school at age 12. Having learned to sweep, fetch water and care for young children, they now begin to weave and knit. They practice by knitting heavy sweaters or weaving saddle blankets and pack bags from coarse wool. After a year or so, they start to use finer wool to weave the rugs, blankets, and pillow covers that will form part of their trousseaux. At 13 or 14, they begin to take over the heavier household tasks while their mothers do the cooking.

During these years, girls spend most of their time with other girls, a pattern that they will continue for the rest of their lives. In Kriovrisi, the separation of space into male and female worlds is not as sharp as in some Greek villages, where women are forbidden to enter cafes, but it exists. Males, when not working relax in cafes or near the village office with other males. A female spends any free moment she has with other females in or near the house. This leisure is always busy leisure. On most occasions, a woman's hands are occupied with some useful work. As Evanthia said, "If I sit with my hands empty, I feel I've done nothing: but if I spin at least I've eked out a few cents." Friends will spin or weave together, they may help each other work, or they may bake a cake together. It is only on Sundays that their hands are free from labor for an hour or two: then after church, they will walk around the village together, dressed in their finest.

Public contacts between young men and women are limited. Again, on Sundays, they may meet, perhaps during their stroll. On festival occasions, when a gypsy band visits the village, boys and girls do traditional dances together.

At this time, the parents are arranging the girls' marriages. Only

recently have a few girls begun to choose their mates. Parents look first among the best families of Kriovrisi thus insuring that their daughters will remain nearby, and that the bride and her in-laws will not be strangers to each other. More and more often, however, because of the population decline in Kriovrisi they must ask friends and relatives outside the village to find mates. When a suitable mate is found, both sets of parents negotiate the dowry and the marraige ceremony takes place soon afterward.

After marriage, the male-female separation may continue, depending on the type of household that the bride and groom establish. There are two major kinds of households: the nuclear family, composed of a married couple and their children: and the stem family, composed of a married couple, their son, and his wife and children. Most households begin as stem families, becoming nuclear if the two couples quarrel and separate or if the elders die. In such households the division of labor between males and females tends to have more daily importance than the conjugal ties.

In 1968, Ioannis, a young shepherd from Kriovrisi, married Sophia, a girl from another village. She moved into his household, comprised of his parents and his four sisters. After the wedding, Sophia and Ioannis rarely appeared together. He was either in the pastures with the sheep or in a cafe with other young men. She was always in the company of at least one sister-in-law or other female relative.

The bride begins a second phase of her education when she marries. Sophia's mother-in-law, Anna, and sisters-in-law were, for example, teaching Sophia how to spin, a skill that for some reason she had never acquired. At first Sophia did the heavy work and only such minor cooking tasks as making salad, while Anna did most of the cooking. The bride gradually learns the finer aspects of cooking. This is considered wise and proper, for there is an old story about a woman who wanted her daughter-in-law to do all the cooking. The daughter-in-law did, but because she came from a wealthier household, she used only butter and no oil in her cooking. Soon the woman discovered that there was no butter left, and from then on she did all her own cooking.

In her new household, the bride is subject to the authority of her husband and of her in-laws, both male and female. Among the women, a division of labor and a hierarchy of authority develops. In this particular household, Anna was in charge: of her four daughters, the eldest (20 years old) was second in command and directed the other three, as well as Sophia, in their tasks.

The relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law tends to be fraught with tensions, as attested to by the many jokes that women tell. It seems that daughters-in-law are expected to be lazy. Once when I was standing with my arms folded, our landlady, Evanthia, said to me, "Why are you standing with your arms like that? Do you think you're a new daughter-in-law"? The bride must learn to perform household tasks in a way that pleases her mother-in-law. If she is strong-willed, then fights are likely to ensue.

The newly married woman may also have to deal with the contradictions between her roles as wife and as daughter-in-law. As a wife, her status complements that of her husband; as a daughter-in-law, her status supplements and competes with that of her mother-in-law. This may cause severe conflicts in some households, as when mother-in-law and daughter-in-law disagree on how money should be spent. Women have a great deal of control over economic matters within the household. In Kriovrisi, the mother-in-law can retain this control even after her son has married and, in some cases, even after her own husband, the nominal household head, has relinquished his power or has died.

A few households in Kriovrisi were notorious for fights between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. In one of them, Argorou, the mother-in-law, who was 78 years old and half-blind, ended the argument by gratuitously proclaiming, "All right, I'll leave. Just give me some bread and cheese and I'll go away. Don't worry about me." Her daughter-in-law, Olga, was put in the position of having asked Argorou to leave, which she had not done. Olga came to tell our landlady the story of the fight. After she left, I asked Evanthia why these fights happened. Smiling slyly, she said, "Her husband likes his mother too much." We talked some more about the problem, and it emerged that Olga had no choice, for village women view a bad husband or mother-in-law as just the luck of the game and feel they can do nothing about it. Evanthia sat silent for a moment, then said, "But, still, it's not right. Olga should be treated better than that. Even a daughter-in-law is human."

In many cases, the women live toghther amicably and provide company for each other in a way that prevents their work from becoming the alienating experience it can be for women living in nuclear families like our own. The division of labor among females also permits the multitude of tasks to be done efficiently. In addition, within the context of her role, a woman has much to look forward to, for one day her life will be easier; she will have a daughter or daughter-in-law to do the heavy work, she will cook, she will play with her grand-children, and she will have the right, as a mother-in-law, to sit and do nothing, if she wished, but talk with old friends for an afternoon hour.

There are many resemblances between this situation and that of other societies, including our own industrialized, urban society. The sexual division of labor, based on the long maturation period of human offspring, is a social adaptation, probably as old as human society, that has enabled human groups to survive. Since females must care for the young, their mobility is restricted. While males can range farther afield, females stay fairly close to the place of residence, caring for it and also engaging in food-getting activities that do not take them far away. A division of labor among females, such as described for Kriovrisi, allows greater efficiency in the pursuit of these activities. Likewise, among males who engage in various means of livelihood, cooperation and specialization between two or more males also renders food-getting more efficient.

Changes are slow to take place in this division of labor, which underlies so many other social patterns. Despite time—and energy—saving devices, such as wood-burning stoves and, more recently, propane gas burners

instead of fireplaces, liquid dish detergent (as Evanthia said. "Things are much easier with 'Thrill' "), and ready-made clothes instead of homespun, the role of women seems to have changed little since the nineteenth century, at least as it is portrayed by the old women of Kriovrisi today. A woman's basic tasks are the same, the separation of male and female worlds continues, and the working of wool continues to absorb and excess time or energy.

It is only in cities that change can occur. There are girls, whose parents were born in Kriovrisi and later emigrated to a city, who now go to secondary school and the university. One such girl, the daughter of an Athens cheese merchant, went to a French private school there and attended law school. Another attends the university in Ioannina. The urban environment provides jobs suitable for women, such as teaching positions, secretarial jobs, or sales positions. In Kriovrisi, there is room for only one teacher (a male) and no business concern needs women.

In the city, major technological changes enable women to spend much less time and energy at household tasks. All clothes are ready-made. Running water and electricity, laundromats and prepared foods decrease much of the household labor. These changes permit the nuclear family to predominate, for one woman can do all the necessary tasks with time to spare.

In Greece, as in the United States, women in cities are beginning to be discontent with and to question, traditional roles. Maria, a 45 year-old woman from Kriovrisi, lived with her husband in Ioannina, a city of some 40,000 people, and had a 15 year-old daughter studying to be a French teacher. Maria feld that "in Greece, women have no value: their work is considered,to be worthless, and the work itself is hard." Her husband disagreed adding that "perhaps village women have to work hard, but it is different in the city." Perhaps the difficulty Maria felt, living in the city, was the loneliness of solitary household work: perhaps it was also her awareness of the increased opportunities that were open to her daughter."

The basic traits of the Vlach woman, as described in the previous article, match the description of other travellers that had preceded Schein. Thus, Wace and Thompson, writing at the beginning of our century on the very subject, have this to say (4): "Hospitality is the keynote of Vlach life and the stranger is quickly made to feel at home, if he is prepared to enjoy simple comforts. A whole day is sometimes spent in such calls, and on arrival in a village the traveller is usually taken round from house to house to make the acquaintance of the chief inhabitants. The noticeable feature about these functions is the part played by women. Vlach women, unlike women in a Greek village, are treated by the men with far greater respect and in some cases almost as equals. The women pay calls like the men and both converse together freely. On the other hand the women rarely and apparently never as a regular habit eat with the men of a family. This is probably mainly a matter of convenience, since the women do the cooking, and does not necessarily imply any idea of inferiority. To a certain extent girls are kept secluded in that fashion dictates that they should not be seen out of doors unaccompanied by a brother, first cousin, or some

elderly relation such as an uncle, aunt or one of their parents. This rule does not apply when they go to the spring for water or to the river to wash clothes. Further at dances at weddings and festivals no young men are allowed to dance with girls other than their sisters or first cousins who are blood relations according to the canons of the Greek church. But whole families will go out for picnics together and in general both sexes meet as equals. The superior status of women, which strikes one forcibly on coming from a Greek to a Vlach village, is probably due to a difference in marriage customs. In Greece it is the common thing for a man to be at home on his name-day to all his friends and relations, and Greeks in the villages are sometimes in the habit of paying calls on Sundays. But the fully developed social system as regards calling which the Vlach possess is, as far as our knowledge goes, totally unknown in Greece. Further the Vlach custom according to which a whole village or parish is at home to everybody else on the festival of the parish church is, we believe, peculiar to Vlachs. The freer social life of the Vlachs, partly due to frequent travels, gives them in this respect better manners and a broader outlook on life. Consequently the Vlach women never become what the Greek village women so often are, drudges in the houses of their husbands, who often deem them little better than cook-housekeepers." (pp. 49-50). "The two qualities which in addition to beauty, modesty and good temper, are most highly prized in a girl are her ability to work wool and to cook." (p. 83).

Albert McDONALD

Albert McDonald is a free-lance journalist and writer, and trekked in Greece in 1983, as a guest of Sherpa Expeditions. As a result of this expedition, he published in Geographical Magazine an article entitled "Pastoral life in the Pindhos" (18), from which we extract a few passages, where one can see the rapid changes that took place in the life of the Vlach shepherds since the end of the second World War.

"Although the Pindhos Mountains are superb hill-walking country trekkers are still an unusual sight. Few visitors today, except those who climb the arduous mule tracks which criss-cross the mountain ridges, discover the hanging valleys. In the shadow of snow-covered peaks and watered by icy snow-melt these are lush with grassy swards and ablaze, in June, with drifts of alpine flowers.

Trekking there last summer I was impressed by the timeless qualities of the mountains and their own distinctive system of transhumance which is now rapidly changing and in danger of vanishing from many parts of the mountains.

Shepherds in these high valleys still drive flocks of diminutive sheep in a way which seems to have changed little since Byron watched similar scenes more than a century ago. Wrapped and hooded against icy mists in long wool cloaks, gaunt figures drive flocks with a series of resonant crys. Guttural commands mingle with the sound of goat bells, barking of

guard dogs and the bleating of sheep as the flocks follow traditional runs across the mountain-sides. Things are different around the village of Samarina, two days trek further on and more than 1300 metres high on the northern flanks of Smólikas. Deserted in winter except for an old shepherd and his wife who act as caretakers while the village is deep in snow, Samarina suddenly comes to life again in late May and early June when more than 3000 people arrive from surrounding villages on foot and by lorry with chickens, goats, cattle and more than 40,000 sheep. As in Tspelovon many of the shepherds are old and many of their sons have left for betterpaid jobs in the factories further south. Since 1910 between 4000 and 5000 young people have left Samarina to seek a better life in North America or in Australia and, increasingly, cottages in the village fill with summer visitors.

Occasional parties of trekkers arrive after having tested their mettle on the rocky peak and icy traverses of Smolikas. Arriving in Samarina in advance of a party which was one of the first that season to have scaled Smolikas, I was greeted with warm hand-shakes and ample offers of hospotality.

By August the population of Samarina may have expanded by a further 10,000 with Greek holiday-makers attracted by the promise of pure mountain air, healthy walks and roast lamb. Tourists are put up in the traditional stone-built cottages. These were rebuilt after the entire village was burned to the ground as a reprisal against partisans during the Second World War.

But sheep are still the village's basic livelihood and traditional methods are rapidly being swept away by more profitable husbandry techniques. Flocks arriving in spring have overwintered under shelter and have been built up on a special diet. Two men can now run a flock of as many as 500 head.

The sale of milk from Samarina's richer pastures is profitable but the real value of the village's flocks lies in new techniques which allow ewes to lamb both in the autumn when they return to their winter quarters and again in the early spring before they leave for the mountains. Rams and older ewes are sold in the autumn and, with higher prices since Greece joined the EEC, even a lamb can be sold for the equivalent of a logger's weekly salary.

Two days trek through beautiful beech woods and over the barren peak of Avgo at Perivoli, the pace of change is even more rapid. John Dodos, president of the community for more than 20 years, told me how he now sees Perivoli prospering.

Witn the exception of the magnificent Greek Orthodox church of St Michael at its centre, the entire village was burnt during the last war and is now occupied only during the summer months. Ten years ago more than 50,000 sheep would have been brought to the village in spring but last season there were less than 20,000. Fewer than 200 people now earn a living from sheep and, while John Dodos hopes that these numbers might increase, Perivoli's future seems to lie in quite a different direction.

The village is increasingly popular with Greek tourists, one of the attractions being Perivoli's church festival which is held in the village square in late July. Expansion is rapid, with more than 600 new homes being built on the hill above the village with the help of an EEC grant and a whole new infrastructure of piped water, electricity and roads also being created. With the added prospect of a workable gold deposit being proven below the village, John Dodos is busier than ever before in looking after the interests of his thriving village. In their separate ways both Perivoli and Samarina represent a new face of the Pindhos, where mountain life is being transformed."

Kathleen GIBBERD

In 1944, Kathleen Gibberd published, in the series "British Survey Handbooks," an interesting guide on Greece (19), where we find the following chapter on the Vlach shepherds: "In some parts of Greece another kind of countryman is found, quite different from the farmers with their settled homesteads. This is the semi-nomadic shepherd. Many of these are Vlachs, a people related to the Rumanians. They live on the high Alps in the summer, under shelters made of spruce and pine branches, and in the lowlands in the winter. Their furniture consists mostly of strong, elaborately carved and painted wooden boxes and of woven blankets, rugs, covers, cushions and so on. They possess a number of pack mules and horses in addition to their thousands of sheep; their cattle are less plentiful. They live mostly on their own produce, but in the winter they lay in stocks of rice, oil, and other groceries. Their women are as expert as the men in milking and in making cheese and butter and tending the flocks. They set up their rooms in the open air and weave their enduring coloured fabrics, having spun the wool from spindles hanging from their waist. One can often see caravans of pack horses cross the streets of a provincial town in the autumn, with the sun-burnt women and the barefoot children running in front or behind, all supremely indifferent to the sights offered by the town. An old shepherd would formerly curse his son because he had built himself a house. Theirs is a traditional sort of culture, reduced to the essentials. Their children used to go to shcools rather fitfully during the winter months only." (pp. 57-58).

Osbert LANCASTER

O. Lancaster, one of the most prolific modern British writers, lived in Greece between 1944-1946, where he was attached to H.M. Embassy in Athens. His travel impressions of this country were published in a book, suggestively entitled "Classical landscape with Figures", illustrated by the author (20).

Among the localities visited, which impressed him particularly, was the Vlach centre of Metzovo, and this is how he describes it: "Just below

the highest point of the road, whence begins the long descent to Jannina, lies the little town of Metzovo, the administrative centre of all this rugged, cloud-wrapped region. First seen across the wide valley a good half hour before one reaches it along the winding route with its innumerable hair-pin bends, a tight huddle of grey roofs adhering grimly to the steep side of the mountain, it has all the air of a typical highland fastness; it is not until one has arrived in the place that the measure of difference separating it from the majority of Greek mountain villages becomes apparent. The houses are solid two-storey four-square stone buildings, which, with their low-pitched stone-tiled roofs, their well-spaced windows and excellent proportions, have a curiously eighteenth-century English look, and it is only such minor details as the shape of the chimneys, the incorporation of a curved return at the point where the door-jambs meet the lintel, and the practice of chamfering the angles of the outside walls to a height of some four or five feet from the ground that give to them anything of an exotic air. This apparent familiarity of the domestic architecture is reinforced by the general aspect of the place, which, with its well-stocked gardens bounded by dry stone walls, large number of trees and general atmosphere of unaccustomed tidiness recalls in some measure the small towns of the Mendips or Cotswolds. This layout is not peculiar to Metzovo, but common to all the villages in this part of Epirus, where the prevailing air of solidity and well-being (at the moment almost entirely illusory) is in a large measure due to the remarkable combination of enterprise and conservatism which characterizes the Epirotes. Formerly a very large proportion of these people were accustomed to seek their fortunes abroad, particularly in the United States, but unlike almost all other Greeks who at length return to their native shores, (the pathetic 'hallo-boys' whose aggressive friendliness ruins one pleasure in so many Greek villages), they did not sacrifice their ancient traditions to the illusory ideals of transatlantic progress. Instead of burdening the streets of their native village with some imitation Main Street horror, complete with bathrooms that don't work, department store furniture, and coloured photographs of film-stars piously preserved from the Sunday supplements of the Chicago Tribune, they put up large stone houses in the traditional style, with solid built-in beds surrounding the fireplace in the principal livingroom in the manner of their ancestors, enlivened solely by brilliant homewoven rugs and a needlework picture of the maidens of Suli gaily dancing over the precipice.

Although Metzovo, with its gigantic plane tree in the middle of the little square, its stone-paved streets and abundant gardens, is typical of many a village in Epirus, in respect of its inhabitants it is unique. The Vlachs, to which race these people belong, are nomads, claiming with some degree of probability descent from the Roman colonists of the Danube valley. In former times they were far more numerous than to-day, occupying the larger part of Thrace and Macedonia and establishing in the twelfth century a Bulgaro-Vlach empire in Thessaly which survived in practical independence until the coming of the Turk. Although for the most part herdsmen, horse-breeders and shepherds following their beasts from pasture to pasture and living in temporary encampments of round wattle huts, the existence of urban settlements, of which Metzovo is the most considerable, would seem to afford evidence that, unlike the Gypsies, their nomadism is not natural but acquired. In general they are fairer in

complexion and more industrious in their habits than the Greeks, whom they affect to despise, and play a role in the national life, more particularly since they are no longer officially regarded as a racial minority absolved from military service but deprived of full citizenship, not dissimilar to that of the Scots in our own land being markedly successful as bailiffs, factors and in industry. In their own communities both men and women make and wear their traditional dress which in Metzovo consists, for the former, of a blue-serge tunic, belted at the waist, long white woollen stockings and a little round, black pill-box cap, and for the latter of a low-waisted red dress bordered with black with three-quarter-length sleeves very wide at the cuffs." (pp. 166-167). (See plate).

Maynard WILLIAMS

In an article on Greece, published in the National Geographic Magazine, M. Williams dedicates an entire chapter to the Vlach shepherds (21). Here is an excerpt: "On the way back to Salonika we passed groups of Kutzo-Vlach shepherds making their annual descent from the frontier mountains to the grassey plains of Khalkidike. (See plate).

Most of the work of making and breaking camp is done by the women, some in bright costumes skillfully embroidered by hand. (See plate).

They are always bashful about having their pictures taken, but by calling for the caravan's patriarch and photographing the drones first, it was easy to obtain pictures of the workers. These pastoral nomads so interested me that when one long caravan turned aside to a grassy slope overlooking the Serrai plain, I braved their wolflike dogs and helped the surprised women make camp.

The flocks, herded by the sturdier men, precede or follow the impedimenta, but each caravan is well provided with chickens, which ride across the country swaying back and forth on the backs of the ponies. Vlach babies, last to be loaded and first to the ground, ride before they can walk. Arrived at the carefully chosen site, the women skillfully pitch camp. So industrious are they that even as they plod along in the caravans they are invariably knitting." (p. 687).

Patrick Leigh FERMOR

The author lived for many years in Greece and during the war he was a liaison officer at the British Military Mission. His impressions of this country can be found in a publication entitled "Roumeli Travels in Northern Greece." (22).

But Roumeli is not to be found on maps of present-day Greece. It is not a political or an administrative delimitation, but a regional, almost a

colloquial name. A few centuries ago it meant roughly the north of the country, from Macedonia to the Gulf of Corinth. Given that this region is in part inhabited by the Vlachs, it is not then surprising to note that the author makes numerous references to them.

"There are many thousands of these semi-nomadic Arroman people, migrating twice yearly between their villages and the plains, speaking a Latin language of their own which is closely akin to Rumanian, and as different from Greek as the Welsh language is from English." (p. 27).

"... The Vlach and Rumanian languages are so close that some authorities think that they are the same and the differences merely the result of a few centuries separation. Vlach (or Aroman) communities, some static and some semi-nomadic, are sprinkled across the southern Balkans. Others maintain they are similar but unrelated developments of low Latin springing up in the Roman garrisoned colonies of Dacia - modern Rumania - and Macedonia. The Vlach language in Greece has two slightly differing dialects, spread over the Pindus round Metsovo and Samarina respectively." (p. 191).

"... They inhabit remarkable villages in the mountains and form the bulk of the population of several Macedonian and Thessalian towns; all this, with their difference of language and, some say of race, from the rest of the Greeks, has been a fascinating anthill for linguists and ethnographers." (p. 281).

"Semi-nomadism exists all over Greece; shepherds leave their mountain villages in winter in search of lowland pastures free of snow; lowlanders do the reverse in summer. Among the true semi-nomads, the Vlachs however, where village economy depends entirely on livestock, autumn brings about an exodus to the plains of the whole male population with all their flocks. They leave a skeleton population of women, children and old men behind to keep the home fires burning till their return to the mountains in spring. In winter, they live in huts in the plain, or, more and more, nowadays, in villages which have sprung up on the sites of their invariable winter sojourn." (p. 29).

Among "the remarkable Vlach villages" visited by Fermor was also Syrako.

"... It is, in fact, the birthplace of Kolettis, the War of Independence hero, one of the early Prime Ministers of Greece, and at one time the Greek Minister in Paris, mentioned in the Goncourt diaries; also of the poets Krystallis and Zalocosta. It is a large Vlach village on the Acheloos Aspropotano, or "white river" in demotic. The inhabitants are known as tzintzari, which resembles the Rumanian word for mosquitoes. In winter their huts are scattered inland from Preveza by the hundred". (p. 14)

Peter SHELDON

An interesting description of the most important Vlach centre in Greece, Metsovo, can be found in Sheldon's book on Greece (23), published in 1966.

"After a touch of the orient and antiquity, nature comes into her own in the splendid alpine setting of the Pindus range. Metsovo, which means appropriately 'in the midst of the mountain', lies at an altitude of over 3,600 feet on the spectacular crossing from Yannina to Meteora. Several rich benefactors have restored the original architecture of their birthplace and made it a singularly attractive large village. Metsovo began as a Roman fortress and the inhabitants still speak Koutsovlach, a Latin dialect akin to Rumanian. Local tradition has it that Octavia, sister of Octavian and wife of Mark Antony, built a palace there at Imperatore. No less surprising but proved beyond doubt is Metsovo's prosperity under the Turks, thanks to a tale straight from the Arabian Nights. A disgraced Grand Vizier found refuge in this remote but hospitable village in the sixteenth century. When he returned to favour, he offered his host a royal recompense, but was asked instead for local autonomy. The four decrees granting this unprecedented freedom are proudly displayed in the town hall. (See plate).

The eighteenth-century Tositsa mansion is a good example of solid undemonstrative architecture, where structural wooden beams are used most pleasingly to provide a fitting frame for the museum of popular art. But the Tositsas did more than restore the ancestral home; they donated their considerable wealth for the upkeep of churches and houses throughout the district. The happy results are seen in the well preserved frescoes and wool carvings of the Byzantine monastery of Aghios Nikolaos near the source of the Arachthos, and even more at the metropolis of Aghia Paraskevi (a female Saint Friday) dating from 1511. Venetian influence from Corfu prevailed over the usual Byzantine ecclesiastical style, especially in the original roofing, the baroque arches and the clock-tower. The tasteful modern mosaics come from Ravenna, another gift of the Tositsa foundation, which has already restored 13 churches in the neighbouring villages." (pp. 71-72).

J.K. CAMPBELL

J.K. Campbell, fellow of the St. Antony's College, Oxford, is the author of a very exciting study, where he describes the life of a community of Sarakatsan shepherds; "Honour, family and patronage" (24).

In the "Historical and geographical introduction" of his research, he defines the term"Vlach" and its various meanings as such: "The Greek villagers generally refer to the Sarakatsani simply as Vlachs (Vlahi), that is shepherds who, in step with the rhythm of the seasons, lead their animals alternatively down to the plains and up to the mountains. The occupational reference of the word Vlach, is an old one, already in use during the Byzantine period. But it may also be used, in its original and more specific sense, to describe Koutsovlachs an ethnic minority group speaking a romance language akin to Rumanian, or the related groups of Albanian Vlachs who are trilingual, speaking the Koutsovlach language as their mother tongue and Greek and Albanian for political and commercial reasons. These different connotations of the word, Vlach, have led to

some confusion, which has been all the greater because many Koutsovlachs lead a transhumant shepherd life, identical in its general outline with that of the Sarakatsani. To the uninitiated eye they may appear to dress alike, to build the same type of thatched hut, and many of their communities graze their flocks in areas of the Pindus mountains neighbouring on those used by the Sarakatsani. The result has been that many nineteenth-century travellers, and even some Greek observers, failed to realize the existence of the Sarakatsani and imagined that all 'nomad' shepherds were Koutsovlachs of one kind or another.

But although many Koutsovlachs are transhumant shepherds, many are not. For instance, in the eastern half of the Zagori district in Epirus, a majority of the Koutsovlach villagers make their living from timber and agriculture. Probably since the sixteenth century a considerable number of Koutsovlachs have been established in their own villages in the high Pindus. They have pretensions to culture, and for generations sons of rich Koutsovlach families have been prepared for commerce, politics, and the professions. In these respects the Koutsovlachs differ from the Albanian Vlachs who, in so far as they continue to be recognized as 'Albanian', are generally concerned only with shepherding. Some of these Albanian Vlachs have grazing areas close to the Albanian frontier which until 1930 they were able to cross in their search for winter pastures.

With both these ethnic minority groups, Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs, the Sarakatsani are culturally contrasted. They speak only Greek; their values, institutions, and art forms are in many respects markedly dissimilar from those of the Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs. Although they share a similar type of economy there is no sympathy between Sarakatsani and these other shepherds. They envy the Koutsovlachs for their relative affluence and their established villages. And they are hostile to the Albanian Vlachs, because it is particularly with these groups that many Sarakatsani must compete for the limited areas of winter grazing land. Even the flesh of an Albanian Vlach, they say, does not smell like that of a Christian. Intermarriage with these people is unknown and between the more traditional Sarakatsani and Koutsovlachs it is, at least very rare." (pp. 2-3).

A.B. HERRICK

In 1970, an "Area handbook for Greece" came out in Washington, edited by A.B. Herrick, from which we reproduce the following excerpt concerning the Vlachs (25): "The 40,000 or so Vlachs reside mainly in the Pindus mountains in northern Epirus, western Macedonia, and northwestern Thessaly. In the winter they usually descend to the plains to seek wage labor and pasture for their flocks. Most belong to the Orthodox Church. Some have become small traders or settled villagers working at weaving and jewelry trades. These have mostly lost their distinctive customs and language, but the Vlachs of the mountains retain their mother tongue, which is related to Rumanian; the majority of Vlach-speakers are known as Koutsovlachs, the rest as Arvanitovlachs or Albanian Vlachs.

There is some confusion regarding the ethnic origin and identity of the Vlachs, who call themselves Aromani. The Greek term vlachoi has an occupational denotation, "shepherd"; this term is applied to shepherds regardless of their origins. The term vlach or wallach, however, is an ancient designation used by Teutons of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. to denote Roman provincials. Used by the Slavs, the term has been perpetuated as Walachia, the name of the southern principality of Rumania. Recognizable Latinisms in the Vlach language have led to speculation that the Vlachs of Greece might be descendants of Romans who retreated from Slav and Avar invasions, of Romanized citizens of the former Roman province of Dacia, or of Roman legions that were garrisoned in the Pindus range.

Since the end of the civil war hostilities in 1949, the Government has continued to encourage the economic and cultural assimilation of the Vlachs. Shepherds are encouraged to settle in agricultural villages where they can supplement their income from herding by cultivation. In the northern towns are found Koutsovlach gunsmiths, knife-makers, candlemakers, silversmiths, tailors, restaurant-keepers, some merchants, doctors, and teachers.

In spite of the ethnic mixtures they have undergone their religious orthodoxy, and their participation in various occupations of the plains towns, the Vlachs have shown a cultural separatism that has been exploited by foreign powers. The Rumanians, considering them to be ethnic relations, took a strong interest in them from about 1870, inspiring them to give up the Greek alphabet in favor of the Roman, to record their folksongs and publish newspapers in their language, and to open their own schools. Vlach separatism was discouraged by Premier John Metaxas in the 1930's; his policies caused an intensification of ethnic identification on the part of some Vlachs who collaborated with the Italians advancing from Albania in 1940". (pp. 70-71).

Robert S. KANE

Robert S. Kane is a well known travel writer, author of "The A to Z Guide a travel series", as well as contributor to the Travel-Holiday magazine, in which be published recently an article entitled "Timeless Northern Greece. Landmarks and easting traditions," (26). Here a chapter from that article: "Timeless Metsovo": "I've saved what is most charming about northern Greece for last. If your visit to the time-stands-still village of Metsovo—high in the snowy mountains a couple of hours' drive due west of Kalambaka—is at Easter, you're in for a succession of special treats as you observe the holiday with the villagers. But regardless of the time of year, you find yourself stepping back a few centuries (electricity and the modern plumbing of your private bath in the Hotel Diasselo are the exceptions) to a community whose economy is based now, as it has been for centuries, on income gained from the wool of local flocks.

You need not leave the hotel to see what I mean. Floor-to-ceiling draperies are fashioned of nubby, locally-loomed textiles. Even the furniture is homemade. Beds—hand-hewn of timber from the neighborhood, like the chairs and attached-to-the-wall settees—are framed by electrified sconces, these too wrought from pine, without benefit of machinery. All about—bed covers, pads on straight-back chairs, back and seat pillows on settees—is beautifully embroidered wool, in age-old motifs.

Step outside for a walk. High heels are out, ladies, for Metsovo is a mountain town, and its streets are paved with rough-cut local stones that have not been joined by mortar. Every house is in the same style of Metsovo architecture as the hotel, constructed of stone to withstand harsh winter storms, with overhanging wooden eaves embellished with surprisingly delicate designs.

Every Metsovo resident is attired in the village's own costume. Men dress in black tunics and skirts, with high white stockings, shoes topped with black pompoms, and pillbox caps; women wear ankle-length dresses, mostly of vivid red or blue, black aprons elegantly stitched with gold thread, and black headdresses. Shops all about the core of the village sell splendid embroidery. (See plate).

The in-town Agios Nicholas Monastery is worth visiting if only for its perfectly preserved frescoes dating back half a millennium or more. But Metsovo's most unlikely surprise is a mansion of yore deftly converted into a museum of village artisanship. The mansion, longtime seat of the baronial Tossitsa family, explains how many villagers and nearby shepherds worked—the stables,saddles, sheep bells, even shepherds' capes among the museum exhibits. Upstairs are rooms canopied by intricately decorated wooden ceilings, sided with panelled walls and decorated with embroidery-covered furniture. Among them are a handsome room reserved for grand receptions; the family's sitting room (among its eye-openers, a water pipe for the head of household); a kitchen dotted with copper vessels, and the so-called wedding room with leather-covered chests for the storage of dowries; and looms (every family in town has at least one, if not several) for the manufacture of the embroideries that still become the barter of Metsovo's future brides." (See plate).

N. GAGE

N. Gage also wrote about Metsovo in an article on Epirus, published in the New York Times Magazine (27), from which the reader can get a good idea about the past as well the present of this important Vlach centre. "Metsovon is a town hidden among the snow-covered peaks of the Pindus Mountains — a 55-mile side trip from Ioannina toward the east on a serpentine but wellpaved highway. Almost unknown to Americans, Metsovon is well worth the detour, for it provides a glimpse into a part of Greece's past never pictured on the travel posters.

Cut off from the rich plains of eastern Greece by a breathtaking pass called Katara — the Curse — Metsovon nestles high among forests of fir, looking more Swiss than Greek. It includes a ski jump and chalet and cheese

and woodworking factories and produces the best red wine in the country. Like a Greek Williamsburg, Metsovon is preserved as it was in its glory. Its wealth resulted from a special dispensation from Turkish taxes and restrictions because in the 16th century a peasant from Metsovon gave sanctuary for a year to a Turkish vizier, in disgrace with his sultan, who promised on his return to power to grant the peasant any wish. As a result of its special privileges, Metsovon attracted rich Christian families, who built magnificent walled mansions, designed to be self-sufficient during the harsh winters and safe from attacks by marauding brigands.

The citizens of Metsovon belong to a tribe called the Vlachs and speak not only Greek but also their own tongue, a Rumanian dialect closely akin to Latin. Their ancient crafts, skills, lore, even recipes, have been rescued from oblivion by Evangelos Averoff, one of Greece's leading political figures, and his nephew, a former mayor of Metsovon, Yiannis Averoff. The Averoff family has also restored several old churches and chapels in the area, with priceless icons, carvings and altar screens.

The Museum of Metsovon is a restored 18th-century mansion, with stables, storerooms and fountains within the building's walls on the first floor. Higher floors contain the winter and summer bedrooms (with grilles through which the secluded women could watch the comings and goings of visitors) and rooms for cooking, weaving, listening to musicians or attending to business. All are filled with the rugs, and tapestries, handicrafts, arms, silver and gold and carvings for which the region was famous. Even the wardrobes are full of richly embroidered garments. (See plate).

In Metsovon most inhabitants wear hand-woven costumes and practice the ancient crafts of embroidery, woodcarving and weaving. But unlike the inhabitants of Williamsburg, the Metsovites are not playacting. They dress that way all the time. (See plate).

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SKETCH MAP OF THE SOUTHERN BALKANS
THE PRINCIPAL VLACH AREAS ARE INDICATED BY DOTS

(Wace and Thompson)

APPENDIX

Additional information and commentaries on some of the plates.

Plate: A Macedonian shepherd returns to the plains. Vlach costume is a complicated and extensive subject. Here are the various garments and their names of the typical everyday dress of the Vlach that is regularly worm by muleteers and shepherds, like the one in our plate.

Over a thick flannel vest a man will put on a long, full shirt reaching to the knees, called Kāmeashā. This is of printed cotton usually pale blue, grey or white in colour, and has a square skirt fully pleated in front and quite plain behind. This shirt may have narrow sleeves buttoned at the wrist or full loose sleeves, but this depends on whether a waistcoat with or without sleeves is to be worn. On his legs he puts a pair of homespun leggings reaching to the middle of the thighs and called tsoaritsi. These are tied round below the knees with garters, kāltsuvetsi, and bound at the bottom with braid. Next comes a double-breasted waistcoat of jean with or without sleeves according to the type of shirt worm. This, which is called dzhibadane, fits very tightly across the chest and isfastened with hooks and eyes. Over this is worn a garment of homespun like a frock-coat that reaches to the knees, but does not meet in front and has no sleeves. This is called tsipune and is girt round the waist with a leather belt over which is wound a long woollen sash known as brānu. This is the universal foundation of the Vlach male costume over which a variety of outer garments may be worn. In our case, the shepherd is wearing the ordinary week-day great-coat of his class. This is a thick coat known as malliotu and is a little longer than the tsipune which it hides. It has tasselled buttons and can be made to meet in front; at the back of the neck is a small conical hood which can be drawn over the head in bad weather, the zārkula. The malliotu is trimmed round the edges with red or blue braid, and has sleeves which are slit half-way down on the side, so that if the wearer does not want to put his arms in them he may thrust them through at the shoulder and then the sleeves will hang loose down the back. On his feet he has particoloured woollen socks (lāpudzā), knitted by the women from wool spun and dyed at home. His shoes are tsāruhi. These have rather thin soles well studded with nails, hardly and heel, and turned-up toes decorated with a large tassel (tsāruhi ku fundi).

Plate: Samarina: women working wool. The wool trade is one of the most important trades in Vlach villages. Every spring when the sheep are shorn the heads of families buy up quantities of raw wool for their wives and daughters to work up during the summer. The first process is to pick over the wool by hand to remove the more prominent impurities such as burrs, and smooth out some of the tangles (scārminarea a lānāllei). Next the wool is washed and spread out in the sun to dry, and is also kept in two qualities long thread and short thread. When dry the wool is carded. The carder a girl sits on one end of a long low kind of stool, in the other end of which is fixed a carding comb (kiaptine). This is a rectangular piece of wood with one side studded with small nails, and it has a handle attached to one of the long sides. The wool to be carded is laid on this fixed comb and the operator draws it backwards and forwards with

a similar comb held in the hands till the wool is loose and fluffy. Wool with short thread after carding is rolled up into loose lumps (pitrikâ), and then spun on a spinning wheel (tshikrike) into spools (tsayi) or thread (tramâ) for weaving. The spools are wound off into large round balls (gîleami), and this is the thread used for setting up the warp on the loom. Other spools are wound off again on to spindles and make the woof. Long thread wool after carding is kept in loose lumps (apalâ), and then spun on the spinning wheel into flock (floku). The spools of this are wound into skeins (tranâ) on a winder (îishkitoru) and then dyed various colours. These skeins are used to make the flock which is woven into the patterns of blankets, rugs and mats. Other wool with long thread after being carded is made into small lumps (sumâ) and placed in handfuls (kairu) on the distaff (furkâ) and spun by hand into thread (usturâ) for weaving flannels, and stuffs. The thread which is to be dyed for weaving varicoloured carpets and rugs is first wound into skeins on the winder, then after dyeing is placed on an instrument called an anemi and from this wound into spools to be placed in the shuttle (zvaltsa) for weaving. The principal stuffs made are homespun (adhimtu) which is usually white, and two varieties of the same, one thin and fine called garvanitshu which is usually black, the other a thick homespun (garvano) with a heavy flock from which waterproof outer coats and capes are made. Flannel (katasarku) is also made, and many varieties of rugs and blankets.

Plate: Samarina: a beetling mill. To complete the account of the weaving process, we think that a few words must be said about the beetling mill (mândane, bâtalle or bâtane). The homespun and similar fabrics are treated in a beetling mill. This which is worked by water power, is a low shed-occasionally it is in the open air — on one side of which are swung four heavy wooden hammers (tsokote) so arranged on a notched wooden shaft that they work two and two alternately. Along the other side is a narrow wooden shelf sloping towards the hammer heads and on the same level with them. On the other side of this shelf is a stout wooden beam for the hammers to beat against. In this is cut a narrow rill into which runs a small stream of water taken off the mill beet. From this rill small holes are bored leading on to the upper edge of the sloping shelf so that a constant, but thin trickle of water can always be running on to it. On the shelf is placed the stuff which has first been thoroughly wetted, and when the water is turned on to the weel the hammers swing to and fro two and two beating the stuff against the beam behind it. With the constant trickle of water the stuff is always kept wet. Thus it is beaten firm and thick and smooth and at the same time well shrunk. This ensures the essential quality of good homespun that the lines of the warp and woof shall not be distinguishable on the surface. The rugs and blankets and the coarse stuffs with goat's hair (câprina) are washed and shrunk in a drâshteala. This is a large, open, wooden tub built in the ground, and narrowing towards the bottom. From a long wooden shoot above a strong stream of water pours down into it. In this the rugs are placed and are whirled round and round in the seething torrent of water.

Plate: Handle of a shepherd's crook. Pastoral woodcarving is mainly the work of shepherds. During long hours of enforced solitude, these lonely men spend their time carving various small objects for their own use. The more skilful ones also carve objects for their fellow-villagers. Basically,

however, pastoral woodcarving is a non-professional craft. The chief characteristics os this kind of woodcarving is its miniature scale and the fineness of its technique.

The crook (cârlibana) serves the shepherd in his work. Its length enables him to control the movement of erring sheep and the handle to catch them by the feet. Thus the handle's unaltering shape, which resembles the letter S, has evolved from a practical need. Various techniques and forms of decoration are, however, used in making this somewhat stereotyped object. Among the different techniques applied are low relief, carving, incising, poker work, painting, encrustation. The most common decorative motifs include effigies of snakes, dragons, wild beasts, birds, plants, human figures, as well as countless combinations of geometric designs. Sometimes the end of the handle is in the form of a whistle.

Plate: Ecclesiastical woodcarving from Metsovo: The casting out of Adam and Eva from Paradise, a masterpiece of Anastasi Moschou of Metsovo, (1848). The subject often appears in ecclesiastical woodcarving. Here the Metsovian craftsman is master of a highly developed technique, familiar with the anatomy of the human body and has assimilated the lessons of west European artists.

Plate: Typical example of Kalarrytan silverwork. Book of Gospels is one of the most typical examples of the art and technique of the Kalarrytan craftsman George Diamandi Bafa. Owing to their craftsmen and workshops, a prominent place in the silverware activity, developed in the 18th century, is held by the two thriving Vlach towns of Pindos, namely Kalarrytes (Câlaru) and Syrrako (Sâracu).

On the steep, precipitous escarpment of the western sides of the Pindos mountains, the small Vlach town of Kalarrytes crouches on sharp and wild rocks, thus making access extremely difficult and dangerous. On the opposite side lies another Vlach town, Syrrako, and in between the deep ravine of Scara, washed by the Kâlâritiklu, the violent tributary river of Arâulu Albu (Aspropotamos). Pouqueville, the French Consul to the court of Ali Pasha, after his visit to the inaccessible small town in 1815 was dazzled by the savageness of the landscape, and wrote that the place was meant for hawks and eagles and not peaceful people, lovers of art.

In Ali's times, the small town of Kalarrytes consisted of 525 families of Vlachs, ransomed their autonomy by paying a yearly tax to the Valide Sultan. In winter, when Pindos was cut off from the rest of the world by snow, the people of Kalarrytes, basically shepherds, came down to the valley of Thessaly and earned their living by trading their milk products. Those who could not make a living by cattle-raising, turned to trade and craftsmanship. The main objects of these activities were cotton-wool of Macedonia and Thessaly, silk of Aya, thick woolen textiles for the capes of the Albanians and the sailors of Adriatica, untreated skins, furs and gold embroidered cloths.

The result was financial prosperity for the Kalarrytes' population and the establishment markets in the principal commercial cities of the time, such as Naples, Livorno, Genua, Sardenia, Venice, Trieste, Raguza,

Ancona, Vienna, Constantinople and Moscow. This financial prosperity was inevitably followed by the intellectual flourishing of this town of Pindos. When visited by Pouqueville, the people of Kalarrytes were fluent in foreign languages and possessed libraries with literature of both foreign and Greck classical works.

The field where the people of Kallarytes surpassed themselves, however, was in the manufacture of silverware. The elaboration of silver reached such a point of perfection that we can clearly state that that most famous silverware of contemporary Greece was created in Kalarrytes' workshops by native craftsmen. In 1821, during the conflict between the armies of Hoursit and Ali, when the Turks conquered and uprooted the people of Kalarrytes, the most famous silver craftsmen took refuge in the peaceful Eptanesa, (the Ioanian islands), where they continued their art and became world famous particularly of their ecclesiastical pieces of art. Tzemoura, Bafa, Papamoschou, Papageorgiou, Polychroniadi, are some of the names of the great silversmiths of Kalarrytes. Today, one of the most famous jewerly shops in Europe, "Bulgari", in Rome, has its origins in the old goldsmith generation of Kalarrytes. However, those who became legendary figures for the silversmiths of Epirus are the fabulous Tzemourā and Bafa, the former known as the famous master craftsman of Ali Pasha and, also like Bafa, renowned for his gospel covers.

Plate: The tselniku Kiriaklu alu Floka from Metsovo. In 1656, the grand vizier Adzem Fazil Achmet Kioproulou having incurred the displeasure of his master, the Sultan Mehmet IV, fled from Constantinople, and found refuge in the house of the Vlach tselniku of Metsovo, Kiriaklu alu Floka. After three years the tidings of his recall to favour and to the grand vizierite reached him in his concealment. He returned in 1659 to Constantinople, and his first thought, on being reinstated in power, was to reward the benefactor by whom he had been sheltered when in disgrace. At his invitation, Floka proceeded to Constantinople, and was rewarded with an imperial firman, which guaranteed the following privileges to his native place.

I. That certain specified pastures situated in Macedonia, Thessaly and Epirus, should belong in perpetuo to the community of Metzovo.

II. That no Mussulman should settle within the borders of the community.

III. That the community should pay a fixed sum annually in lieu of all government dues.

IV. That their territory should be an inviolable asylum.

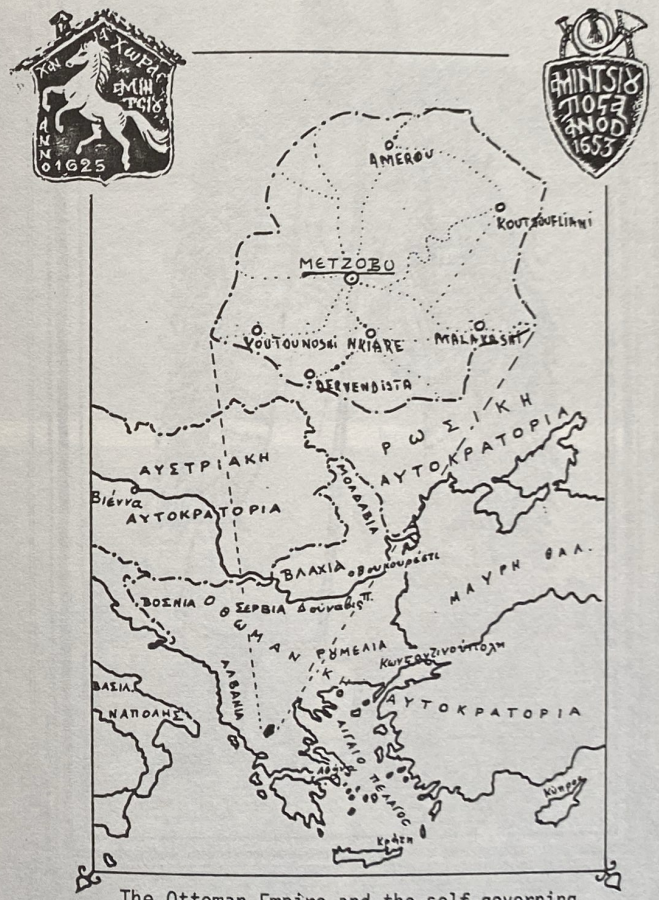
V. That all Mussulmans passing through their territory should regard the ground as sacred, and on quitting it should scrape their horse's hoffs, so as not to take away with them a particle of Metzovo soil.

VI. That their ecclesiastical affairs should be administered by a special exarch from the patriarch.

VII. That in civil matters they should be subject to the nomarch of Epirus in the Euboea; and in judicial matters to the cadi of Livadia in Boeotia.

This last article, by placing the revising authorities at a distance was intended to discourage appeals against their own municipal decisions.

These comprehensive privileges were extended to all the dependencies of Metzovo, which were then limited to the following Vlach villages, situated within a circle of about three hours in diameter: Nkiare, Malakashi, Voutounoshi, Dervendista, Amerou and Koutsoufleani.



The Ottoman Empire and the self-governing territory of Metsovo (projected) in 1780. (Source: G. Platari).

The tselniku Kiriaklu alu Floka from Metsovo

THE ANNUAL DESCENT FROM MOUNTAIN TO PLAIN

The Kutzo-Vlach herders, grazing their flocks in the uncultivated regions, help provide Hellas with much-needed meat. A small party is here crossing a stream near Salonika on its way from the border mountains to the Khalkidike.

BUILDING A WINTER HUT BESIDE THE IOANNINA ROAD

Vlach women are so industrious that, after they have broken camp and loaded the horses, and hoisted the chickens into place, and tied the wolf-dog so he won't get himself shot, and put the twins onto the lead horse, and begun their trek to a new camping site, they inevitably take out a sock and do their knitting as they stride along.

A KUTZO-VLACH HEN HAS THE TOURING INSTINCT

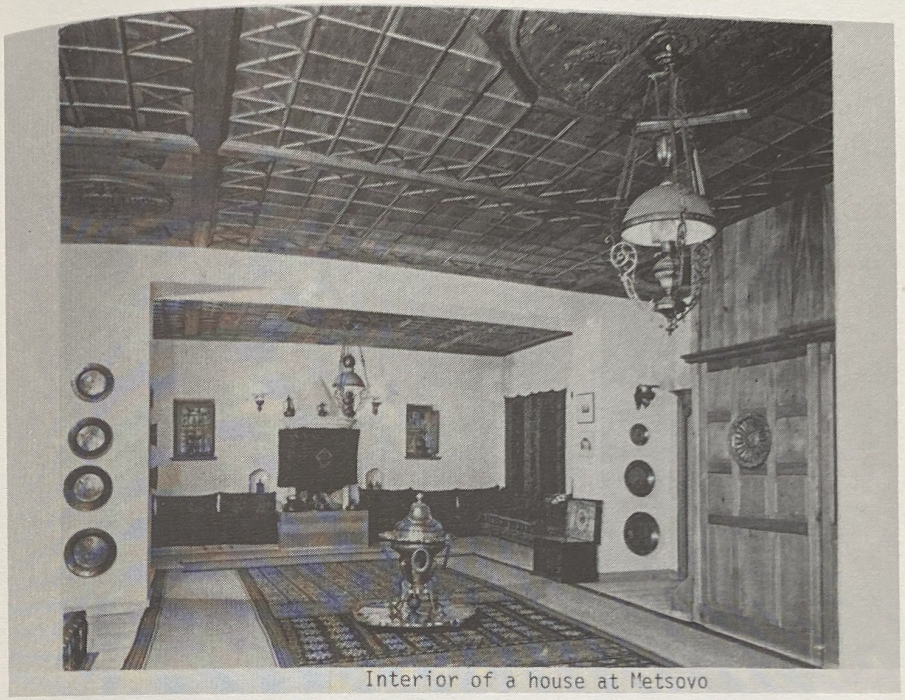
As the nomads travel from one bivouac to another, their chickens ride horseback. While the men drive their flocks to winter pastures in the lowlands, the women carry the baggage and set up homes for their men-folk along the route. The party advances only ten or fifteen miles a day and makes a complete new camp each night.

METSOVON - Local Costumes

METSOVON - Tositsa Mansion (Museum)

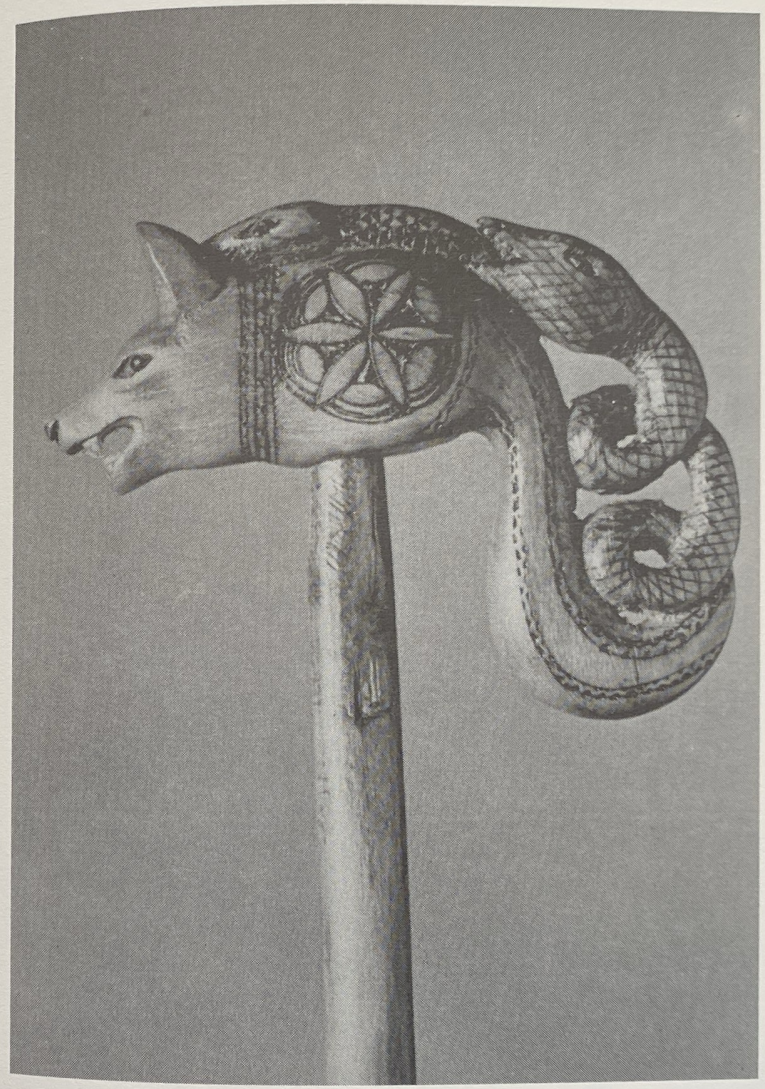
Metsovo: preparation of the bride and groom

Metsovo: ceremony of the marriage and the dance of the newly wed couple



Interior of a house at Metsovo

Patterns of Vlach rugs and carpets



Handle of a shepherd's crook (cârlibana)

A VLACH WOMAN WEAVING HOMESPUN ON A PORTABLE LOOM

The Kutzo-Vlachs, or Rumani, gave their name to Rumania, where they were dominant in the 13th century. Perhaps 10,000,000 Vlachs of Latin race are now scattered over Europe. The roving tribes in Greece are conspicuous because of their homespun dress, often decorated with distinctive patterns.

A MACEDONIAN SHEPHERD RETURNS TO THE PLAINS

SAMARINA: WOMEN WORKING WOOL

Samarina: newly wed couple

1. SAMARINA: A BEETLING MILL

2. SAMARINA: A SAW MILL

SAMARINA: A PRIEST AND HIS FAMILY AT A FESTIVAL

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